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THE TROUBLESOME RAIGNE

OF

JOHN, KING OF ENGLAND.

THE FIRST QUARTO,

1591,

WHICH SHAKSPERE REWROTE (ABOUT 1595) AS HIS
"LIFE AND DEATH OF KING JOHN."

PART II.

A FACSIMILE, BY PHOTOLITHOGRAPHY, FROM THE UNIQUE ORIGINAL IN
THE CAPELL COLLECTION AT TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

BY

CHARLES PRAETORIUS.

WITH FOREWORDS BY F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A., PH.D.

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43 SHAKSPERE QUARTO FACSIMILES,

WITH INTRODUCTIONS, LINE-NUMBERS, &C., BY SHAKSPERE SCHOLARS,

ISSUED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF DR. F. J. FURNIVALL.

1. *Those by W. Griggs.*

No.

1. Hamlet. 1603. Q_1.
2. Hamlet. 1604. Q_2.
3. Midsummer Night's Dream. 1600. Q_1. (Fisher.)
4. Midsummer Night's Dream. 1600. Q_2. (Roberts.)
5. Loves Labor's Lost. 1598. Q_1.
6. Merry Wives. 1602. Q_1.
7. Merchant of Venice. 1600. Q_1. (Roberts.)
8. Henry IV. 1st Part. 1598. Q_1.
9. Henry IV. 2nd Part. 1600. Q_1.
10. Passionate Pilgrim. 1599. Q_1.
11. Richard III. 1597. Q_1.
12. Venus and Adonis. 1593. Q_1.
13. Troilus and Cressida. 1609. Q_1.
17. Richard II. 1597. Q_1. Duke of Devonshire's copy. (*Best version: text printed.*)

2. *Those by C. Praetorius.*

14. Much Ado About Nothing. 1600. Q_1.
15. Taming of a Shrew. 1594. Q_1.
16. Merchant of Venice. 1600. Q_2. (Heyes.)
18. Richard II. 1597. Q_1. Mr. Huth's copy.
19. Richard II. 1608. Q_3.
20. Richard II. 1634. Q_5.
21. Pericles. 1609. Q_1.
22. Pericles. 1609. Q_2.
23. The Whole Contention. 1619. Q_3. Part I. (for 2 Henry VI.).
24. The Whole Contention. 1619. Q_3. Part II. (for 3 Henry VI.).
25. Romeo and Juliet. 1597. Q_1.
26. Romeo and Juliet. 1599. Q_2.
27. Henry V. 1600. Q_1.
28. Henry V. 1608. Q_2.
29. Titus Andronicus. 1600. Q_1.
30. Sonnets and Lover's Complaint. 1609. Q_1.
31. Othello. 1622. Q_1.
32. Othello. 1630. Q_2.
33. King Lear. 1608. Q_1. (N. Butter, *Pide Bull.*)
34. King Lear. 1608. Q_2. (N. Butter.)
35. Rape of Lucrece. 1594. Q_1.
36. Romeo and Juliet. Undated. Q_4.
37. Contention. 1594. Q_1. (For 2 Henry VI.)
38. True Tragedy. 1595. Q_1. (For 3 Henry VI.)
39. The Famous Victories of Henry V. 1598. Q_1.
40. The Troublesome Raigne of King John. Part I. 1591. Q_1.
41. The Troublesome Raigne of King John. Part II. 1591. Q_1.
42. Richard III. 1602. Q_3.
43. Richard III. 1622. Q_6. (*on stone.*)

TROUBLESOME RAIGNE, PART II.

FOREWORDS.

SOURCES OF PART I.

Sc. i. *Death and Character of Richard I*, p. iii; *First strife between John and Arthur*, p. iv; *The Falconbridge incident*, p. vii; *Falconbridge possibly taken in part from Falco de Brenta or Breauté*, p. xxxix.
Sc. ii, iv. *Angiers, and the Betrothal of Lewes and Blanche*, p. viii.
Sc. iii, vi. *Bastard and Limoges*, p. x.
Sc. v. *Pandulph, John, and the Interdict*, p. x; *John's Headship of the Church*, p. xiii.
Sc. vii—ix. *Capture of Q. Eleanor*, p. xiv; *of Arthur*, p. xv.
Sc. x. *The Prophet*, p. xviii.
Sc. xi. *Arthur and Hubert*, p. xvi.
Sc. xii. *The* 5 *Moons* (p. xviii); *John's recrowning*, p. xvi; *the Prophet*, p. xviii.

SOURCES OF PART II.

Sc. i. *Arthur's death*, p. xvii.
Sc. ii. *The Prophet*, p. xviii; *Q. Eleanor's death*, p. xix; *John's submission to the Pope*, p. xxiv.
Sc. iii. *Conspiracy of the Nobles*, p. xxi.
Sc. iv. *Pandulph, John and Lewes*, p. xxv.
Sc. iv. 73-6, *Sc.* viii. 94-7. *John's ill hap since he submitted to the Pope*, p. xx.
Sc. v. *Melun's Confession of Lewes's Treachery*, p. xxix.
Sc. vi, viii. *John at Swinstead*, p. xxx; *His ill hap*, p. xx; *His Death*, p. xxx.
Sc. vii. *The French forces*, p. xxxiii.
Sc. ix. *The Treaty of Peace*, p. xxxv; *John's Burial at Worcester*, p. xxxii.

Merits of the old Play, p. xxxvii.
Corrections for pages 34-9, p. xxxviii.
Falconbridge, p. xxxix.
The Persons of the Play, p. xl.

THIS *Troublesome Raigne* was Shakspere's material for his *King John*, and in the Forewords to Part I, Mr. Rose showd how skilfully (in the main) our Poet used that material, though he faild to make of it a good acting play. With the help of my friend Mr. W. G. Stone, I propose now to give what was probably the old Playwright's material, those parts of Holinshed's and Hall's *Chronicles* (*Holinshed*, ed. 2, 1586-7, vol. iii.) which he used, with a few words linking them together.

The old Playwright starts his first Part with the death of John's elder brother, Richard, 'Victorious scourge of Infidels,' the Lion-Heart of England, and with the sorrow of the land in consequence. On this, and the quality which may have led to the insertion of the Lady Falconbridge incident, Holinshed says:—

(156. i. 46) 'At length king Richard [I] by force of sicknesse (increased with anguish of his incurable wound) departed this life, on the tuesdaie before Palmesundaie, being the ninth of Aprill, and the xj. day after he was hurt, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauior 1199. in the 44 yeare of his age, and after he had reigned nine yeares, nine moneths, and od daies: he left no issue behind him.

A.D. 1199.

King Richard departed this life.

His stature & shape of bodie.

He was tall of stature, and well proportioned, faire and comelie of face . . . .

His disposition of mind.

'As he was comelie of personage, so was he of stomach more couragious and fierce, so that not without cause, he obteined the surname of *Cueur de lion*, that is to saie, The lions hart. Moreouer, he was courteous to his souldiers, and towards his freends and strangers that resorted vnto him verie liberall . . . . .

The vices that were in King Richard.

[Col. 2] 'He was noted of the common people to be partlie subiect vnto pride, which surelie for the most part foloweth stoutnesse of mind: of incontinencie, to the which his youth might happilie be somewhat bent; and of couetousnesse . . . On a time whiles he soiourned in France about his warres . . there came vnto him a French priest whose name was Fulco, who required the K[ing] in any wise to put from him three abhominable daughters which he had . . . "for thou hast three daughters, one of them is called pride, the second couetousnesse, and the third lecherie"' . . .

Fulco a priest.

Next succeeds King John, the 'second hope' of Queen Elinor's womb (Sc. i. l. 6); and at once the strife between him (then in France) and Arthur begins (*Hol.* iii., p. 157, col. 1):—

Anno Reg. 1.

'This man, so soone as his brother Richard was deceassed, sent Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, and William Marshall earle of Striguill (otherwise called Chepstow) into England, both to proclaime him king, and also to see his peace kept, togither with Geffrey Fitz Peter lord cheefe iustice, and diuerse other barons of the realme, whilest he himselfe went to Chinon where his brothers treasure laie, which was foorthwith deliuered vnto him by Robert de Turneham: and therewithall the castell of Chinon and Sawmer and diuerse other places, which were in the custodie of the foresaid Robert.

Reg. Houed.

Matth. Paris.

Chinon.

Robert de Turnham.

[Angiers given up to Arthur.]

'But Thomas de Furnes, nephue to the said Robert de Turneham, deliuered the citie and castell of Angiers vnto Arthur duke of Britaine. For by generall consent of the nobles and peeres of the countries of Aniou, Maine, and Touraine, Arthur was receiued as the liege and souereigne lord of the same countries.

'For euen at this present, and so soone as it was knowne that king Richard was deceased, diuerse cities and townes on that side of the sea belonging to the said Richard whilest he liued, fell at ods among themselues, some of them indeuouring to preferre king Iohn, other labouring rather to be vnder the gouernance of Arthur duke of

[Arthur preferd by some to John.]

Britaine, considering that he seemed by most right to be their cheefe lord, forsomuch as he was sonne to Geffrey, elder brother to Iohn. And thus began the broile in those quarters, whereof in processe of time insued great inconuenience, and finallie the death of the said Arthur, as shall be shewed hereafter.'

A.D. 1199. [Q. Eleanor

But Queen Eleanor 'being bent to prefer hir sonne Iohn, left no stone vnturned to establish him in the throne, comparing oftentimes the difference of gouernement betweene a king that is a man, and a king that is but a child. For as Iohn was 32 yeares old, so Arthur duke of Britaine was but a babe to speake of. In the end, winning all the nobilitie wholie vnto hir will, and seeing the coast to be cleare on euerie side, without any doubt of tempestuous weather likelie to arise, she signified the whole matter vnto K. John, who forthwith framed all his indeuours to the accomplishment of his businesse.

[wins over the nobles.]

Queene Elianors enuie against Arthur.

'Surelie queene Elianor the kings mother, was sore against his nephue Arthur, rather mooued thereto by enuie conceiued against his mother, than vpon any iust occasion giuen in the behalfe of the child, for that she saw, if he were king, how his mother Constance would looke to beere most rule within the realme of England, till hir sonne should come to lawfull age, to gouerne of himselfe.

Constance dutchesse of Britaine.

. . . 'When this dooing of the queene was signified vnto the said Constance, she, doubting the suertie[1] of hir sonne, committed him to the trust of the French king, who receiuing him into his tuition, promised[2] to defend him from all his enimies, and foorthwith furnished the holds in Britaine with French souldiers. Queene Elianor being aduertised hereof, stood in doubt by and by of hir countrie of Guien, and therefore with all possible speed passed ouer the sea, and came to hir sonne Iohn into Normandie, and shortlie after they went foorth togither into the countrie of Maine, and there tooke both the citie and castell of Mauns, throwing downe the wals and turrets therof, with all the fortifications and stone-houses in and about the same, and kept the citizens as prisoners, bicause they had aided Arthur against his vncle Iohn.'

[Arthur entrusted to K. Philip II.]

Queene Elianor passeth into Normandie.

The city of Mauns taken. *Matth. Paris. R. Houed.*

After Easter, king John was invested duke of Normandy, and leaving his mother to defend Guienne, he past over into England, landing at Shoreham on May 25, 1199.

'On the next day, being Ascension eeue, he came to London, there to receiue the crowne.'

K. John cometh ouer into England.

[1] safety [2] p. 158, col. 2.

John's coronation took place on May 27, 1199. During his absence (*Holinshed's Chronicle*, vol. iii. p. 160/1)

N. Triuet. The French K. invadeth Normandie. A.D. 1199.

'in England, Philip K. of France hauing leuied an armie, brake into Normandie, and tooke the citie of Eureux, the towne of Arques, and diuerse other places from the English. And passing from thence into Maine, he recouered that countrie lately before through feare alienated. In an other part, an armie of Britains with great diligence wan the townes of Gorney, Buteuant and Gensolin, and following the victorie, tooke the citie of Angiers, which king Iohn had woon from duke Arthur, in the last yeare passed. These things being signified to king Iohn, he thought to make prouision for the recouerie of his losses there, with all speed possible.'

[Angiers taken from John.]

Nearly a year elapst between John's negotiations with Philip II. in 1199, and those which ended in the marriage of Lewes and Blanche (*Hol.* iii. 160/2).

Rog. Houed. Arthur duke of Britaine made knight. A.D. 1199. [Aug. 16]

'About the same time, king Philip made Arthur duke of Britaine knight, and receiued of him his homage for Aniou, Poictiers, Maine, Touraine, and Britaine. Also somewhat before the time that the truce should expire; to wit, on the morrow after the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, and also the day next following, the two kings talked by commissioners, in a place betwixt the townes of Buteuant and Guleton. Within three daies after, they came togither personallie, and communed at full of the variance depending betweene them. But the French king shewed himselfe stiffe and hard in this treatie, demanding the whole countrie of Veulquessine to be restored vnto him, as that which had beene granted by Geffrey earle of Aniou, the father of king Henrie the second, vnto Lewes le Grosse, to haue his aid then against king Stephan. Moreouer, he demanded, that Poictiers, Aniou, Maine, and Touraine, should be deliuered and wholie resigned vnto Arthur duke of Britaine.[1]

The French kings demand.

'But these, & diuerse other requests which he made, king Iohn would not in any wise grant vnto, and so they departed without conclusion of any agreement. . . . . shortlie after a peace was concluded betwixt king Iohn and his nephue duke Arthur, though the same serued but to small purpose.

[John refuses it.]

A peace betwixt king Iohn & his nephue.

. . . 'vpon some mistrust and suspicion gathered in the obseruation of the couenants on K. Iohns behalfe, both

The mistrust that duke Arthur had in his vncle king Iohn.

[1] The Playwright in Part I, sc. iv, lines 160-1, makes Philip II. demand these (with Veulquessine) for his own son Lewes, on his marriage with Blanche.

the said Arthur, with his mother Constance, the said vicount of Tours, and diuerse other, fled awaie secretlie from the king, and got them to the citie of Angiers, where the mother of the said Arthur refusing hir former husband the earle of Chester, married hir selfe to the lord Guie de Tours, brother to the said vicount, by the popes dispensation.' [Constance marries Lord Guy of Tours.]

Sc. i, lines 75-304, p. 7-13, the incident of the brothers Falconbridge and their Mother, may have been adapted in part from the following story of the Duke of Orleans's bastard son (the 'Bastard of Orleans' of 1 *Henry VI.* I. ii. 46, &c.) told by Hall in his *Chronicle*, ed. 1809, p. 144-5, under 'The .VI. year of Kyng Henry the .VI.,' 1 Sept. 1427-8 :—

"Here must I a litle digresse, and declare to you, what was this bastard of Orleance, which was not onely now capitain of the citee [Orleans, then besieged by the English[1]], but also after, by Charles the sixt made erle of Dunoys, and in great authoritie in Fraunce, and extreme enemie to the Englishe nacion, as by this story you shall apparauntly perceiue, of whose line and steme dyscend the Dukes of Longuile and the Marques of Rutylon. [The Bastard of Orleans

"Lewes, Duke of Orleance,—murthered in Paris by Iohn, duke of Burgoyne, as you before haue harde,—was owner of the Castle of Coucy, on the Frontiers of Fraunce toward Arthoys, wherof he made Constable, the lord of Cauny, a man not so wise as his wife was faire; and yet she was not so faire, but she was as well beloued of the Duke of Orleance, as of her husband. Betwene the duke and her husbande (I cannot tell who was father) she conceiued a child, and brought furthe a pretye boye called Ihon; whiche chyld beyng of the age of one yere, the duke disceased; and not long after, the mother and the Lorde of Cauny ended their liues. The next of kynne to the lord of Cauny chalenged the enheritaunse, whiche was worth foure thousande crounes a yere, alledgyng that the boye was a bastard: and the kynred of the mothers side, for to saue her honesty, it plainly denied. In conclusion, this matter was in contencio*n* before the Presidentes of the parliament of Paris, and there hang in controuersie till the child came to the age of eight yeres old. At which tyme it was demaunded of hym openly [*p.* 145] whose sonne he was: his fre*n*des of his mothers side aduertised him to require a day, to be aduised of so

[had a beautiful Mother, Lady Cauny, lovd by the Duke of Orleans. She bare a boy, and soon died.

[The boy's legitimacy was questiond;

[and at the trial, when he was 8,

[1] It was at this siege that Lord Salisbury and Sir Thos. Gargrave were kild by the son of the French Master Gunner, as told by Hall, p. 145, and in 1 *Henry VI*, Act I, sc. iv, l. 69, 71.

great an answer; whiche he asked, & to hym it was graunted. In ye meane season, his said frendes persuaded him to claime his inheritaunce, as sonne to the Lorde of Cawny, which was an honorable liuyng, and an auncient patrimony; affirming, that if he said contrary, he not only slaundered his mother, shamed himself, & stained his bloud, but also should haue no liuyng, nor any thing to take to. The scholemaster, thinkyng that his disciple had well learned his lesson, and would reherse it accordyng to his instruccion, brought hym before the Iudges at the daie assigned; and when the question was repeted to hym again, he boldly answered, 'my harte geueth me, & my noble corage telleth me, that I am the sonne of the noble Duke of Orleaunce; more glad to be his Bastarde, with a meane liuyng, then the lawfull sonne of that coward cuckolde Cawny, with his foure thousand crounes' [a year].

[the boy told the Judges

[that he was the Duke's Bastard, and not the coward Lord Cauny's son.

"The Iustices muche merueiled at his bolde answere; and his mothers cosyns detested him for shamyng of his mother; and his fathers supposed[1] kinne reioysed in gainyng the patrimony and possessions. Charles, duke of Orleance, heryng of this iudgement, toke hym into his family, & gaue him great offices & fees, which he well deserued, for (duryng his [the Duke's] captiuitie) he [the Bastard] defended his [the Duke's] landes, expulsed thenglishmen, & in conclusion procured his deliueraunce."

[The Duke of Orleans adopted and endowd the boy;

[and he drove out the English.]

For his first Scene then, the old Playwright borrowd only the death of Richard I, the succession of John, supported by his Mother, the opposition of Arthur backt by Philip II, with demands for cession of territory by John to both Philip and Arthur; and for the Falconbridge part, the possible hint of the Orleans narrative in Hall.

For Scenes ii and iv of Pt. I, the Playwright had only the following accounts of the Siege of Angiers in 1199 and 1206, and the negotiations for the marriage of Lewes and Blanche in 1200:—

A.D. 1199.

(*Hol.* iii. 158/2.) 'In the meane time his mother queene Elianor, togither with capteine Marchades, entred into Aniou, and wasted the same, bicause they of that countrie had receiued Arthur for their souereigne lord and gouernour.[2] And amongst other townes and fortresses, they tooke the citie of Angiers, slue manie of the citizens, and commited the rest to prison.' (170/1, 27) 'Finallie he [K. John] entred into Aniou, and comming to the citie of Angiers, appointed certeine bands of his footmen, & all his light horssemen to compasse the towne about, whilest he, with the residue of the footmen, & all the men of armes, did go

The city of Angiers taken.

1206

Anno Reg. 8. *Les Annales de France. Polydor.*

[1] ? supposed father's. (On Falconbridge, see p. xxxix, below.)

[2] See p. iv above; and John's capture of the town, mentiond on p. vi.

to assault the gates. Which enterprise with fire and sword he so manfullie executed, that the gates being in a moment broken open, the citie was entered and deliuered to the souldiers for a preie. So that of the citizens some were taken, some killed, and the wals of the citie beaten flat to the ground. This doone, he went abroad into the countrie, and put all things that were in his way to the like destruction. Then came the people of the countries next adioining, of their owne accord to submit themselues vnto him, promising to aid him with men and vittals most plentifullie.'

King Iohn won the citie of Angiers by assault [in 1206].

(161/1, 53) 'Finallie vpon the Ascension day in this second yeare of his [John's] reigne, they came eftsoones to a communication betwixt the townes of Vernon and Lisle Dandelie, where finallie they concluded an agreement, with a marriage to be had betwixt Lewes the sonne of king Philip, and the ladie Blanch, daughter to Alfonso king of Castile the 8 of that name, & neece to K. Iohn by his sister Eleanor.

A.D. 1200. *Anno. Reg.* 2. [May 18]

A peace concluded with a marriage.

'In consideration whereof, king John, besides the summe of thirtie thousand markes in siluer, as in respect of dowrie assigned to his said neece, resigned his title to the citie of Eureux, and also vnto all those townes which the French king had by warre taken from him, the citie of Angiers onelie excepted, which citie he receiued againe by couenants of the same agreement. The French king restored also to king Iohn (as *Rafe Niger* writeth) the citie of Tours, and all the castels and fortresses which he had taken within Touraine: and moreouer, receiued of king Iohn his homage for all the lands, sees and tenements which at anie time his brother king Richard, or his father king Henrie had holden of him, the said king Lewes[1] or any his predecessors, the quit claims and marriages alwaies excepted. The king of England likewise did homage vnto the French king for Britaine, and againe (as after you shall heare) receiued homage for the same countrie, and for the countie of Richmont of his nephue Arthur. He also gaue the earledome of Glocester vnto the earle of Eureux, as it were by way of exchange, for that he resigned to the French king all right, title & claime that might be pretended to the countie of Eureux.

Matth. Paris. [Blanche's dowry.]

[Angiers is restord to John.] *Ra. Niger.*

[1 that is, Philip II.]

'By this conclusion of marriage betwixt the said Lewes and Blanch, the right of king Iohn went awaie, which he lawfullie before pretended vnto the citie of Eureux, and vnto those townes in the confines of Berrie, Chateau Roux or Raoul, Cressie and Isoldune, and likewise vnto the countrie of Veuxin or Veulquessine, which is a part of the territorie of Gisors: the right of all which lands,

[John gives up Evreux, and many other towns.]

Polydor.

townes and countries was released to the king of France by K. John, who supposed that by his affinitie, and resignation of his right to those places, the peace now made would haue continued for ever. And in consideration thereof, he procured furthermore, that the foresaid Blanch should be conueied into France to hir husband with all speed. That doone, he returned into England.'

The king cometh back again into England.

The 'will', which Eleanor 'can inferre' against Arthur's claim, Part I, sc. ii, l. 98, was made by Richard I., who, in April, 1199 (*Hol.* iii. 155/2, l. 68),

'seeing himselfe to wax weaker and weaker, preparing his mind to death, which he perceiued now to be at hand, he ordeined his testament, or rather reformed and added sundrie things vnto the same which he before had made, at the time of his going forth towards the holie land.

He ordeineth his testament.

'Vnto his brother Iohn he assigned the crowne of England, and all other his lands and dominions, causing the Nobles there present to sweare fealite[1] vnto him' . . .

[[1] fealtie]

For Scenes iii and vi of Part I, the old Playwright had only this bit in *Holinshed*, iii. 160/2, l. 70:—

'The same yere Philip, bastard sonne to king Richard, to whome his father had giuen the castell and honor of Coinacke, killed the vicount of Limoges,[1] in reuenge of his fathers death, who was slaine (as yee haue heard) in besieging the castell of Chalus Cheuerell.'

Philip king Richards bastard son kills the vicount of Limoges.

For Scene v—the Pandulph part—the old Playwright went to the years 1207-8 and 1211-12 in Holinshed, *Chron.* iii. 171/21, l. 15, and 175/1, l. 7. See below, p. xi—xiii.

The controversy between John and Innocent III., concerning the Pope's appointment of Stephen Langton to the see of Canterbury, began in 1207, when Innocent wrote to John, urging Langton's personal claim to preferment (*Hol.* iii. 171/2, l. 15):—

A.D. 1207. *An. Reg.* 8.

'Manie other reasons the pope alledged in his letters to king Iohn, to haue persuaded him to the allowing of the election of Stephan Langton. But king Iohn was so far from giuing care to the popes admonitions, that he with more crueltie handled all such, not onelie of the spiritualtie, but also of the temporaltie, which by any manner means had aided the forenamed Stephan. The pope being hereof aduertised, thought good not to suffer such contempt of his authoritie, as he interpreted it; namelie, in a matter that touched the iniurious handling

[John oppresses all Stephen Langton's supporters.]

[1] He is confused with the Austrich Duke, in the play, and is kild in Part I, Sc. vi, p. 35.

of men within orders of the church. Which example might procure hinderance, not to one priuat person alone, but to the whole estate of the spiritualtie, which he would not suffer in any wise to be suppressed. Wherefore he decreed with speed to deuise remedie against that large increasing mischeefe. And though there was no speedier waie to redresse the same, but by excommunication, yet he would not vse it at the first towards so mightie a prince, but gaue him libertie and time to consider his offense and trespasse so committed.'

[The Pope resolves to check K. John.]

As John continued obstinate, he and his realm were interdicted by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, acting under Innocent's order (March 23, 1208), *Hol.* iii. 172/1, l. 25:—

A.D. 1208.

The mondaie in the passion weeke saith Matth. West.

The king and realm put vnder the popes curse.

'Herevpon the said bishops departed, and according to the popes commission to them sent, vpon the euen of the Annuntiation of our Ladie, denounced both the king and the realme of England accursed, and furthermore caused the doores of churches to be closed vp, and all other places where diuine seruice was accustomed to be vsed, first at London, and after in all other places where they came. Then perceiuing that the K. ment not to stoope for all this which they had doone, but rather sought to be reuenged vpon them, they fled the realme, and got them ouer vnto Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie, to wit, William bishop of London, Eustace bishop of Elie, Malger bishop of Worcester, Ioceline bishop of Bath, and Giles bishop of Hereford.

Anno. Reg. 10 (1209-10). The dealing of the king after the interdiction was pronounced.

'The king taking this matter in verie great displeasure, seized vpon all their temporalities, and conuerted the same to his vse, and persecuted such other of the prelacie as he knew to fauour their dooings, banishing them the realme, and seizing their goods also into his hands. Howbeit the most part of the prelats wiselie prouoided for themselues in this point, so that they would not depart out of their houses, except they were compelled by force, which when the kings officers perceiued, they suffered them to remaine still in their abbies, and other habitations, bicause they had no commission to vse any violence in expelling them. But their goods they did confiscat to the kings vse, allowing them onelie meat and drinke, and that verie barelie in respect of their former allowance.

An heauie time for churchmen.

'¶ It was a miserable time now for preestes and churchmen, which were spoiled on euerie hand, without finding remedie against those that offered them wrong.'

[A.D. 1211. *Hol.* iii. 175/1, 7.] *Anno Reg.* 13. Pandulph and Durant the Popes legats. *Polydor.*

'In the same yeare also [1211], the pope sent two legats into England, the one named Pandulph a lawier, and the other Durant a templer, who comming vnto king Iohn, exhorted him with manie terrible words to leaue his stubborne disobedience to the church, and to reforme his misdooings. The king for his part quietlie heard them, and bringing them to Northampton, being not farre distant from the place where he met them vpon his returne foorth of Wales had much conference with them; but at length, when they perceiued that they could not haue their purpose, neither for restitution of the goods belonging to preests which he had seized vpon, neither of those that apperteined to certeine other persons, which the king had gotten also into his hands, by meanes of the controuersie betwixt him and the pope, the legats departed, leauing him accursed, and the land interdicted, as they found it at their comming.

[The Legates quit England, leaving John curst and the land interdicted.] *Fabian.* [The Pope's Interdict.]

'¶ Touching the maner of this interdiction there haue beene diuerse opinions, some haue said, that the land was interdicted throughlie, and the churches and houses of religion closed vp, that no where was anie diuine seruice vsed: but it was not so streit, for there were diuerse places occupied with diuine seruice all that time, by certeine priuiledges purchased either then or before. Children were also christened, and men houseled and annoiled through all the land, except such as were in the bill of excommunication by name expressed.' . . . .

Matth. Paris.

(*Hol.* iii. 175/2, l. 17.) 'In the meane time pope Innocent, after the returne of his legats[1] out of England, perceiuing that king Iohn would not be ordered by him, determined with the consent of his cardinals and other councellours, and also at the instant suit of the English bishops and other prelats being there with him, to depriue king Iohn of his kinglie state, and so first absolued all his subiects and vassals of their oths of allegiance made vnto the same king, and after depriued him by solemne protestation of his kinglie administration and dignitie, and lastlie signified that his depriuation vnto the French king and other christian princes, admonishing them to pursue king Iohn, being thus depriued, forsaken, and condemned as a common enimie to God and his church. He ordeined furthermore, that whosoeuer imploied goods or other aid to vanquish and ouercome that disobedient prince, should remaine in assured peace of the church, as well as those which went to visit the sepulchre of our Lord, not onlie in

Polydor. [The Pope, in 1212,

[deposes John, absolves his subjects from their allegiance,

[and urges K. Philip II. &c. to make war on John.]

[1] Pandulph and Durant.

their goods and persons, but also in suffrages for sauing of their soules.

'But yet that it might appeare to all men, that nothing could be more ioifull vnto his holinesse, than to haue king Iohn to repent his trespasses committed, and to aske forgiuenesse for the same, he appointed Pandulph, which latelie before was returned to Rome, with a great number of English exiles, to go into France, togither with Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie, and the other English bishops, giuing him in commandement, that repairing vnto the French king, he should communicate with him all that which he had appointed to be doone against king Iohn, and to exhort the French king to make warre vpon him, as a person for his wickednesse excommunicated. Moreouer this Pandulph was commanded by the pope, if he saw cause, to go ouer into England, and to deliuer vnto king Iohn such letters as the pope had written for his better instruction, and to seeke by all means possible to draw him from his naughtie opinion.

Pandulph sent into France to practice with the french king, for king Iohn his destruction.

(*Hol.* iii. 175/2, l. 57.) 'In the meane time, when it was bruted through the realme of England, that the pope had released the people & absolued them of their oth of fidelitie to the king, and that he was depriued of his gouernement by the popes sentence, by little and little a great number both of souldiers, citizens, burgesses, capteins and conestables of castels, leauing their charges, & bishops with a great multitude of preests reuolting from him, and auoiding his companie and presence, secretlie stale awaie, and got ouer into France.' . . .

[After the Pope's Interdict, many English migrate to France.]

In Sc. v, line 79 (2)—perhaps John's declaration that he will be supreme head over temporal as well as spiritual, was suggested by the 2nd paragraph of the following extract (*Hol.* iii. 173/2, l. 58):—

'¶ There liued in those daies a diuine named Alexander Cementarius, surnamed Theologus, who by his preaching incensed the king greatlie vnto all crueltie (as the monks and friers saie) against his subiects, affirming that the generall scourge wherewith the people were afflicted, chanced not through the princes fault, but for the wickednesse of his people, for the king was but the rod of the Lords wrath, and to this end a prince was ordeined, that he might rule the people with a rod of iron, and breake them as an earthen vessell, to chaine the mighty in fetters, & the noble men in iron manacles. . .

Anno Reg. 11 (A.D. 1210-11). Cementarius

[justifies John's cruelty to his subjects.]

'He went about also to prooue with likelie arguments, that it apperteined not to the pope, to haue to doo con-

[Cementarius argues against the Pope's right to interfere in temporal matters.]

cerning the temporall possessions of any kings or other potentates touching the rule and gouernment of their subiects, sith no power was granted to Peter (the speciall and cheefe of the apostles of the Lord) but onlie touching the church, and matters apperteining therevnto. By such doctrine of him set foorth, he wan in such wise the kings fauour, that he obteined manie great preferments at the kings hands, and was abbat of saint Austines in Canturburie.' . . .

In Scenes vii, viii, ix, allowing for anachronism, the writer of the old play had authority for the capture of Queen Eleanor by Arthur, and her subsequent release by John. *Hol. Chron.* iii. 164/2, l. 13:—

An. Dom. 1202. Queene Elianor.

'Queene Elianor that was regent in those parties being put in great feare with the newes of this sudden sturre, got hir into Mirabeau a strong towne, situat in the countrie of Aniou, and forthwith dispatched a messenger with letters vnto king Iohn, requiring him of speedie succour in this hir present danger. In the meane time, Arthur following the victorie, shortlie after followed hir, and woone Mirabeau, where he tooke his grandmother within the same, whom he yet intreated verie honorablie, and with great reuerence (as some haue reported.) ¶ But other write far more trulie, that she was not taken, but escaped into a tower, within the which she was straitlie besieged. Thither came also to aid Arthur all the Nobles and men of armes in Poictou, and namelie the foresaid earle of March according to appointment betwixt them: so that by this meanes Arthur had a great armie togither in the field.

[Arthur captures Q. Eleanor.]

Matth. Paris. Matth. West.

[Arthur's great Army.]

[John denounces K. Philip II. for bad faith.]

Polydor.

'King Iohn in the meane time, hauing receiued his mothers letters, and vnderstanding thereby in what danger she stood, was maruellouslie troubled with the strangenesse of the newes, and with manie bitter words accused the French king as an vntrue prince, and a fraudulent league-breaker: and in all possible hast speedeth him foorth, continuing his iournie for the most part both day and night to come to the succour of his people. To be briefe, he vsed such diligence, that he was vpon his enimies necks yer they could vnderstand any thing of his comming, or gesse what the matter meant, when they saw such a companie of souldiers as he brought with him to approch so neere the citie. For so negligent were they, that hauing once woone the towne, they ranged abroad ouer the countrie hither and thither at their libertie with-

K. Iohn commeth vpon his enimies not looked for.

out any care. So that now being put in a sudden feare, as preuented by the hastie comming of the enimies vpon them, and wanting leisure to take aduice what was best to be doone, and hauing not time in manner to get any armour on their backs, they were in a maruellous trouble, not knowing whether it were best for them to fight or to flee, to yeeld or to resist. [Indecision of the French.]

'This their feare being apparent to the Englishmen (by their disorder shewed in running vp and downe from place to place with great noise and turmoile) they set vpon them with great violence, and compassing them round about, they either tooke or slue them in a manner at their pleasure. And hauing thus put them all to flight, they pursued the chase towardes the towne of Mirabeau, into which the enimies made verie great hast to enter: but such speed was vsed by the English souldiers at that present, that they entred and wan the said towne before their enimies could come neere to get into it. Great slaughter was made within Mirabeau it selfe, and Arthur with the residue of the armie that escaped with life from the first bickering was taken, who being herevpon committed to prison, first at Falais, and after within the citie of Rouen, liued not long after as you shall heare. The other of the prisoners were also committed vnto safe keeping, some into castels within Normandie, and some were sent into England.' . . . [The English capture and slay the French, [and take Mirabeau.] Arthur duke of Britaine taken prisoner. *Matth. Paris.*

Of Scene x of the Play, the joke of the Friars and Nuns is the Playwright's own, from wide popular experience. For the Prophet of Scene x, see p. xviii, below. For Arthur and Hubert in Scene xi, Part I, John's recrowning, the Bastard's 5 Moons, and Arthur's death in Part II, sc. i, and for the wind-up of Part I, Holinshed gave the following material:—

(*Hol.* iii. p. 165, l. 31.) 'The French king at the same time lieng in siege before Arques, immediatly vpon the newes of this ouerthrow, raised from thence, and returned homewards, destroieng all that came in his waie, till he was entred into his owne countrie. It is said that king Iohn caused his nephue Arthur to be brought before him at Falais, and there went about to persuade him all that he could to forsake his freendship and aliance with the French king, and to leane and sticke to him being his naturall vncle. But Arthur, like one that wanted good counsell, and abounding too much in his owne wilfull opinion, made a presumptuous answer,[1] not onelie denieng so to doo, but also A.D. 1202. *Anno Reg.* 4. [Arthur before John at Falaise.]

[1] The old playwright has skilfully [illegible]cter.

commanding king Iohn to restore vnto him the realme of England, with all those other lands and possessions which king Richard had in his hand at the houre of his death. For sith the same apperteined to him by right of inheritance, he assured him, except restitution were made the sooner, he should not long continue quiet. King Iohn being sore mooued with such words thus vttered by his nephue, appointed (as before is said) that he should be straitlie kept in prison, as first in Falais, and after at Roan within the new castell there. Thus by means of this good successe, the countries of Poictou, Touraine, and Aniou were recouered.

[John imprisons Arthur at Falaise, and then Rouen.]

'Shortlie after, king Iohn comming ouer into England, caused himselfe to be crowned againe at Canturburie by the hands of Hubert the archbishop there, on the fourteenth day of Aprill, and then went backe againe into Normandie, where immediatlie vpon his arriuall, a rumour was spred through all France, of the death of his nephue Arthur. True it is that great suit was made to haue Arthur set at libertie, as well by the French king, as by William de Riches a valiant baron of Poictou, and diuerse other Noble men of the Britains, who when they could not preuaile in their suit, they banded themselues togither, and ioining in confederacie with Robert earle of Alanson, the vicount Beaumont, William de Fulgiers, and other, they began to leuie sharpe wars against king Iohn in diuerse places, insomuch (as it was thought) that so long as Arthur liued, there would be no quiet in those parts: where-[1]upon it was reported, that king Iohn, through persuasion of his councellors, appointed certeine persons to go vnto Falais, where Arthur was kept in prison, vnder the charge of Hubert de Burgh, and there to put out the yoong gentlemans eies. [*Part I, sc. xi. of the Play.*]

Matth. Paris. King John eftsoones crowned. A.D. 1203.

Rafe Cog.

[John orders Arthur's eyes to be put out.]

'But through such resistance as he made against one of the tormentors that came to execute the kings commandement (for the other rather forsooke their prince and countrie, than they would consent to obeie the kings authoritie heerein) and such lamentable words as he vttered, Hubert de Burgh did preserue him from that iniurie, not doubting but rather to haue thanks than displeasure at the kings hands, for deliuering him of such infamie as would haue redounded vnto his highnesse, if the yoong gentleman had beene so cruellie dealt withall. For he considered, that king Iohn had resolued vpon this point onelie in his heat and furie (which moueth men to

[Arthur pleads for his sight. Hubert de Burgh saves it.]

[1] *Hol.* iii. p. 165, col. 2.

vndertake manie an inconuenient enterprise, vnbeseeming the person of a common man, much more reprochfull to a prince, all men in that mood being meere foolish and furious, and prone to accomplish the puruerse conceits of their ill possessed heart; as one saith right well,

[Hubert's motives in sparing Arthur.]

———*pronus in iram*
Stultorum est animus, facilè excandescit, & audet
Omne scelus, quoties concepta bile tumescit)

and that afterwards, vpon better aduisement, he would both repent himselfe so to haue commanded, and giue them small thanke that should see it put in execution. Howbeit to satisfie his mind for the time, and to staie the rage of the Britains, he caused it to be bruted abroad through the countrie, that the kings commandement was fulfilled, and that Arthur also through sorrow and greefe was departed out of this life. For the space of fifteene daies this rumour incessantlie ran through both the realmes of England and France, and there was ringing for him through townes and villages, as it had beene for his funerals. It was also bruted, that his bodie was buried in the monasterie of saint Andrewes of the Cisteaux order.

[Hubert spreads a report of Arthur's death.]

'But when the Britains were nothing pacified, but rather kindled more vehementlie to worke all the mischeefe they could deuise, in reuenge of their souereignes death, there was no remedie but to signifie abroad againe, that Arthur was yet liuing and in health. Now when the king heard the truth of all this matter, he was nothing displeased for that his commandement was not executed, sith there were diuerse of his capteins which vttered in plaine words, that he should not find knights to keepe his castels, if he dealt so cruellie with his nephue. For if it chanced any of them to be taken by the king of France or other their aduersaries, they should be sure to tast of the like cup. ¶ But now touching the maner in verie deed of the end of this Arthur[1], writers make sundrie reports. Neuerthelesse certeine it is, that in the yeare next insuing, he was remooued from Falais vnto the castell or tower of Rouen, out of the which there was not any that would confesse that euer he saw him go aliue. Some haue written, that as he assaied to haue escaped out of prison, and proouing to clime ouer the wals of the castell, he fell into the riuer of Saine, and so was drowned. Other write, that through verie greefe and languor he pined awaie, and died of naturall sicknesse. But some affirme, that king Iohn secretlie caused him to be mur-

[Anger of the Bretons at it.]

[Arthur reported to be alive and well.]

[Arthur, in prison at Rouen, is said

[to have climbd the walls, and been drownd,

[1] This takes us to Part II, sc. i, of the old Play.

[or murderd by John's order.]

thered and made awaie, so as it is not throughlie agreed vpon, in what sort he finished his daies: but verelie king Iohn was had in great suspicion, whether worthilie or not, the lord knoweth.' . . . .

(The old Playwright wisely didn't notice Constance's re-marriage and her accusation of K. John (*Hol.* iii. 166/1):—

Guie son to the vicount of Touars. [Marries Constance.]

Constance, the mother of duke Arthur, accuseth king Iohn.

'The Lord Guie, sonne to the vicount of Touars, who had taken Arthurs mother Constance to wife, after the diuorse made betwixt hir and the earle of Chester, in right of hir obteined the dukedome of Britaine. But king Philip after he was aduertised of Arthurs death, tooke the matter verie greeuouslie, and vpon occasion therof, cited king Iohn to appeare before him at a certeine day, to answer such obiections as Constance the duches of Britaine mother to the said Arthur should lay to his charge, touching the murther of hir sonne. And bicause king Iohn appeared not, he was therefore condemned in the action, and adiudged to forfeit all that he held within the precinct of France, aswell Normandie as all his other lands and dominions.')

For the 5 Moons in Sc. xii of the Play, Part I (A.D. 1202), Holinshed gives the following, under 1200 (*Hol.* iii. 163/1, l. 45):—

Fiue moones. A.D. 1200.

'About the moneth of December, there were seene in the prouince of Yorke fiue moones, one in the east, the second in the west, the third in the north, the fourth in the south, and the fift as it were set in the middest of the other, hauing manie stars about it, and went fiue or six times incompassing the other, as it were the space of one houre, and shortlie after vanished awaie.'

We now come to Scene ii of Part II, p. 8, John and the Prophet. For 'Peter, a Prophet, with people' in Part I, Scene xi, p. 43-4, and his talk with K. John in Sc. xiii, p. 52-4 (A.D. 1202), in which he prophesies John's loss of his Crown before Ascension-day, and also for Peter's appearance in Part II, Sc. ii, p. 9, Holinshed has only the following, under the year 1213-14 (it should be 1212: see Matthew Paris), *Chron.* iii. 180, col. i, line 18.

An hermit named Peter of Pontfret, or Wakefield as some writers haue. See M. *Fox*, tome first, pag. 331.

'There was in this season an heremit, whose name was Peter, dwelling about Yorke, a man in great reputation with the common people, bicause that either inspired with some spirit of prophesie as the people beleeued, or else hauing some notable skill in art magike, he was accustomed to tell what should follow after. And for

so much as oftentimes his saiengs prooued true, great credit was giuen to him as to a verie prophet . . . .

. . . 'This Peter, about the first of Ianuarie last past, had told the king, that at the feast of the Ascension it should come to passe, that he should be cast out of his kingdome. And (whether, to the intent that his words should be the better beleeued, or whether vpon too much trust of his owne cunning) he offered himselfe to suffer death for it, if his prophesie prooued not true. Herevpon being committed to prison within the castell of Corfe, when the day by him prefixed came, without any other notable damage vnto king Iohn, he was by the kings commandement drawne from the said castell, vnto the towne of Warham, & there hanged, togither with his sonne.

[Peter prophesied that John would be cast out of England before Ascension Day.]

[*Hol.* Torf]

The heremit and his sonne hanged.

'The people much blamed king Iohn, for this extreame dealing, bicause that the heremit was supposed to be a man of great vertue, and his sonne nothing guiltie of the offense committed by his father (if any were) against the king. Moreouer, some thought, that he had much wrong to die, bicause the matter fell out euen as he had prophesied: for the day before the Ascension day, king Iohn had resigned the superioritie of his kingdome (as they tooke the matter) vnto the pope, and had doone to him homage, so that he was no absolute king indeed, as authors affirme. One cause, and that not the least which mooued king Iohn the sooner to agree with the pope, rose through the words of the said heremit, that did put such a feare of some great mishap in his hart, which should grow through the disloialtie of his people, that it made him yeeld the sooner.'

[The people blame John,

[as he did resign his kingdom to the Pope before Ascension Day.]

The death of Q. Eleanor in 1204 is not noted by the Playwright till Part II, sc. ii, l. 118-120, p. 12, in 1214, as if it had then just happened:—

(*Hol.* iii. 167/2, l. 73.) 'About this time [1204] queene Elianor the mother of king Iohn departed this life, consumed rather through sorow and anguish of mind, than of any other naturall infirmitie.'

A.D. 1204.

In 1214 John, then in France, invaded Britany, but fearing Lewes's army, retreated to Angiers, and remained there while Lewes subdued the Poitevins, and his father, K. Philip II., beat the united Flemish, German, and English forces, under the Emperor Otho, at the bridge of Bouvines, on July 26 (27, Mat. Paris), 1214, a d which was disastrous to John (*Hol.* iii. 183, col. 2, l. 4):—

'Now king Iohn being aduertised of that ouerthrow, was maruellouslie sad and sorrowfull for the chance, in somuch that he would not receiue any meat in a whole daie after the newes thereof was brought vnto him. At length turning his sorrow into rage, he openlie said, that since the time that he made himselfe & his kingdom subiect to the church of Rome, nothing that he did had prospered well with him. Indeed he condescended to an agreement with the pope (as may be thought) more by force than of deuotion, and therefore rather dissembled with the pope (sith he could not otherwise choose) than agreed to the couenants with any hartie affection.

The saieng of king Iohn. [Nothing had prosperd with him since he submitted to the Pope.]

'But to the purpose. Perceiuing himselfe now destitute of his best freends, of whom diuerse remained prisoners with the French king (being taken at the battell of Bouins) he thought good to agree with king Philip for this present, by way of taking some truce, which by mediation of ambassadours riding to and fro betwixt them, was at length accorded to endure for fiue yeares, and to begin at Easter, in the yeare of our Lord, 1215. After this, about the 19 daie of October he returned into England, to appease certeine tumults which began alreadie to shoot out buds of some new ciuill dissention. And suerlie the same spred abroad their blossoms so freshlie, that the fruit was knit before the growth by anie timelie prouision could be hindered. For the people being set on by diuerse of the superiours of both sorts, finding themselues greeued that the king kept not promise in restoring the ancient lawes of S. Edward, determined from thencefoorth to vse force, since by request he might not preuaile.' . .

A truce taken betwixt the two kings of England & France.

[The English people determine to use force against John.]

We must now hark back to the end of Scene i, Part II, the resolve of the rebel English Nobles, after Arthur's death, to ask the Dolphin of France to enter England and claim the throne, and to meet at Bury St. Edmunds, on April 10, to confer, and to aid Lewes in his enterprise, l. 81-108, p. 7-8, below. With this, we will take the Bastard's speech, l. 73-87 of Sc. ii, Pt. II, p. 10-11 below, and Part II, Scene iii, p. 15 below, the meeting of these Nobles at Bury; and we may fairly conclude that Essex's first line in the Play, 'Under the cloke of holie Pilgrimage,' came from the Holinshed side-note, 'A cloked pilgrimage.' But the old Playwright has reverst Holinshed's order of events, and has made the sending for the Dolphin come before, instead of after, the meeting at Bury. The old Playwright has also alterd the motive of the Nobles' pilgrimage. Holinshed says, iii. 183, col. 2, l. 45 :—

'The Nobles, supposing that longer delaie therein was not to be suffered, assembled themselues togither at the abbeie of Burie (vnder colour of going thither to doe their deuotions to the bodie of S. Edmund which laie there inshrined) where they vttered their complaint of the kings tyrannicall maners.' . . . . . [and where was read to them a charter of Henry I, confirming Edward the Confessor's grant of certain liberties].

A cloked pilgrimage.

[The English nobles meet at Bury St. Edmund's,

(l. 74) 'And therefore being thus assembled in the queere of the church of S. Edmund, they receiued a solemne oth vpon the altar there, that if the king would not grant to the same liberties, with others which he of his owne accord had promised to confirme to them, they would from thencefoorth make warre vpon him, till they had obteined their purpose, and inforced him to grant, not onelie to all these their petitions, but also yeeld to the confirmation of them vnder his seale, for euer to remaine most stedfast and inuiolable.'

[and swear to make war on John if he'll not grant their liberties.]

In 1215 the Barons wrest Magna Charta—an incident which no dramatist would dare put on the stage in Elizabeth's time—from John, but the Pope takes his side, annuls the Charter, and excommunicates the Barons, who resolve to settle their quarrel by the sword. John, however, prevails against them, and then, says Holinshed, iii. 190, col. 1, l. 43, A.D. 1216:—

'The barons of the realme being thus afflicted with so manie mischeefes all at one time, as both by the sharpe and cruell warres which the king made against them on the one side, and by the enmitie of the pope on the other side, they knew not which way to turne them, nor how to seeke for releefe. For by the losse of their complices taken in the castell of Rochester, they saw not how it should any thing auaile them to ioine in battell with the king. Therefore considering that they were in such extremitie of despaire, they resolued with themselues to seeke for aid at the enimies hands, and there vpon Saer earle of Winchester, and Robert Fitz Walter, with letters vnder their seales, were sent vnto Lewes, the sonne of Philip the French king, offering him the crowne of England, and sufficient pledges for performance of the same, and other couenants to be agreed betwixt them, requiring him with all speed to come vnto their succour. This Lewes had married (as before is said) Blanch, daughter to Alfonse king of Castile, neece to king Iohn by his sister Elianor.

[The English nobles are afflicted by John's victories over them, and by the Pope's enmity.]

The lords send to the French kings sonne, offering to him the crowne.

[Philip II. promises to invade England.]

'Now king Philip the father of this Lewes, being glad to haue such an occasion to inuade the relme of England, which he neuer looued, promised wiilinglie that his sonne should come vnto the aid of the said barons with all conuenient speed (but first he receiued foure and twentie hostages, which he placed at Campaine for further assurance of the couenants accorded) and herewith he prepared an armie, and diuerse ships to transport his sonne and his armie ouer into England. In the meane time, and to put the barons in comfort, he sent ouer a certeine number of armed men, vnder the leading of the chatelaine of saint Omers and the chatelaine of Arras, Hugh Thacon, Eustace de Neuille, Baldwin Brecell, William de Wimes, Giles de Melun[1], W. de Beamont, Giles de Hersie, Biset de Fersie, and others, the which taking the sea, arriued with one and fortie ships in the Thames, and so came to London the seauen and twentith of Februarie, where they were receiued of the barons with great ioy and gladnesse. Moreouer the said Lewes wrote to the barons, that he purposed by Gods assistance to be at Calice by a day appointed, with an armie redie to passe ouer with all speed vnto their succours.' [p. 190, l. 13: for l. 69 &c. see p. xxiv, at foot.]

[p. 190, col. 2] French men sent ouer to the aid of the barons.

The saturday after the Epiphanie, saith *Rafe Cog.*

We go back now to the entrance of Pandulph in Part II, Scene ii, of the Play, p. 13, and to the year 1213, and Holinshed's *Chronicle*, iii. 176/2, l. 18.

1213.

The French king prepared to inuade England.

'Ye shall vnderstand, the French king being requested by Pandulph the popes legat, to take the warre in hand against king Iohn, was easilie persuaded thereto of an inward hatred that he bare vnto our king, and therevpon with all diligence made his prouision of men, ships, munition and vittell, in purpose to passe ouer into England: and now was his nauie readie rigged at the mouth of Saine, and he in greatest forwardnesse, to take his iournie. When Pandulph vpon good considerations thought first to go eftsoones, or at the least wise to send into England, before the French armie should land there, and to assaie once againe, if he might induce the king to shew himselfe reformable vnto the popes pleasure: king Iohn, hauing knowledge of the French kings purpose and ordinance, assembled his people, and lodged with them alongst by the coast towards France, that he might resist his enimies, and keepe them off from landing.' . . . .

[John prepared to resist him.]

[1] The 'Vicount Meloun' of Part II, Sc. iii, and Sc. v. of the Play, p. 22, 26.

Then follows the material for Scene iv of Pt. II, p. 24, John's surrender of his Crown to the Pope's legate, and his agreement to hold his kingdom thenceforth of the Pope. (The extracts for Sc. iii, the oath on the Altar, p. 19, and Lewes's coming, p. 20, are on p. xxi above and p. xxvii below.)

(*Hol.* iii. 176/2, l. 65.) 'But as he lay thus readie, neere to the coast, to withstand and beat backe his enimies, there arriued at Douer two Templers, who comming before the king, declared vnto him that they were sent from Pandulph the popes legat, who for his profit coueted to talke with him: for he had (as they affirmed) meanes to propone, whereby he might be reconciled, both to God and his church, although he were adiudged in the court of Rome, to haue forfeited all the right which he had to his kingdome.

[Pandulph's proposal to reconcile John with the Pope.]

'The king vnderstanding the meaning of the messengers, sent them backe againe to bring ouer the legat, who incontinentlie came ouer to Douer, of whose arriuall when the king was aduertised, he went thither, and receiued him with all due honour and reuerence.'

The legat Pandulph cometh ouer.

Here follows a 'sawcie speech of proud Pandulph the popes lewd legat, to king Iohn, in the presumptuous popes behalfe;' which the dramatist has not used.

(*Hol.* iii. 177/1, l. 60.) 'These words being thus spoken by the legat, king Iohn as then vtterlie despairing in his matters, when he saw himselfe constreined to obeie, was in a great perplexitie of mind, and as one full of thought, looked about him with a frowning countenance, waieng with himselfe what counsell were best for him to follow. At length, oppressed with the burthen of the imminent danger and ruine, against his will, and verie loth so to haue doone, he promised vpon his oth to stand to the popes order and decree. Wherefore shortlie after (in like manner as pope Innocent had commanded) he tooke the crowne from his owne head, and deliuered the same to Pandulph the legat, neither he, nor his heires at anie time thereafter to receiue the same, but at the popes hands. Upon this, he promised to receiue Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie into his fauour, with all other the bishops and banished men, making vnto them sufficient amends for all iniuries to them doone, and so to pardon them, that they should not run into any danger, for that they had rebelled against him.

[Despair and hesitation of K. John.]

K. Iohn deliuereth his crowne vnto Pandulph.

'Then Pandulph keeping the crowne with him for the

Pandulph

restoreth the crowne again to the kinge.

space of fiue daies in token of possession thereof, at length (as the popes vicar) gaue it him againe. By means of this act (saith Polydor) the fame went abroad, that king Iohn willing to continue the memorie hereof, made himselfe vassall to pope Innocent, with condition, that his successors should likewise from thencefoorth acknowledge to haue their right to the same kingdome from the pope. But those kings that succeeded king Iohn, haue not obserued any such lawes of reconciliation, neither doo the autentike chronicles of the realme make mention of any such surrender, so that such articles as were appointed to king Iohn to obserue, perteined vnto him that had offended, and not to his successors. Thus saith Polydor'..

[To hold England of the Pope.]

Ran. Higden.

Holinshed gives John's Charter of submission and words of fealty to the Pope, and adds, iii. 178, col. 2, l. 34:—

1213.

'Pandulph hauing thus reconciled king Iohn, thought not good to release the excommunication, till the king had performed all things which he had promised, and so with all speed hauing receiued eight thousand markes sterling in part of restitution to be made to the archbishop, and the other banished men, he sailed backe into France, & came to Roan, where he declared to king Philip the effect of his trauell, and what he had doone in England. But king Philip hauing in this meane while consumed a great masse of monie, to the summe of sixtie thousand pounds, as he himselfe alledged, about the furniture of his iournie, which he intended to haue made into England, vpon hope to haue had no small aid within the realme, by reason of such bishops and other banished men as he had in France with him, was much offended for the reconciliation of king Iohn, and determined not so to breake off his enterprise, least it might be imputed to him for a great reproch to haue beene at such charges and great expenses in vaine. Therefore calling his councell togither, he declared vnto them what he purposed to doo.'

[Pandulph gets 8000 marks from K. John, and goes to K. Philip II.]

[Philip II. will not give up the invasion of England.]

We now take up the Chronicle from p. xxii, above, before the Pandulph incident. In 1215 John returnd from the borders of Scotland, and threatend to besiege London, but withdrew on finding the Citizens ready to fight. The navy he had prepared to encounter Lewes, was disperst by tempest, and, says Holinshed, iii. 190, col. 2, l. 69, John:—

King John once againe

'Somewhat before this time also, when he heard of the compact made betwixt the barons and his aduersaries the

Frenchmen, he dispatched a messenger in all hast to the pope, signifieng to him what was in hand and practised against him, requiring furthermore the said pope by his authoritie to cause Lewes to staie his iournie, and to succour those rebels in England which he had alreadie excommunicated.' . . .

sendeth to the pope.

For Scene iv of Part II, lines 19-78 (p. 24-6), Pandulph's attempt (near Bury) to withdraw Lewes and the French from the invasion of England, Holinshed gave the old Playwright an account of a first attempt in France, and a second later one in England, p. xxviii.

'The pope desirous to helpe king Iohn all that he might (bicause he was now his vassall) sent his legat Gualo into France, to disswade king Philip from taking anie enterprise in hand against the king of England. But king Philip, though he was content to heare what the legat could saie, yet by no meanes would be turned from the execution of his purpose, alledging that king Iohn was not the lawfull king of England, hauing first vsurped and taken it awaie from his nephue Arthur the lawfull inheritour, and that now sithens as an enimie to his owne roiall dignitie he had giuen the right of his kingdome awaie to the pope (which he could not doo without consent of his nobles) and therefore through his owne fault he was worthilie depriued of all his kinglie honor. For the kingdome of England (saith he) neuer belonged to the patrimonie of S. Peter, nor at anie time shall. For admit that he were rightfull king, yet neither he nor anie other prince may giue awaie his kingdome without the assent of his barons, which are bound to defend the same, and the prerogatiue roiall, to the vttermost of their powers. Furthermore (saith he) if the pope doo meane to mainteine this errour, he shall giue a perilous example to all kingdomes of the world. Herewithall the Nobles of France then present, protested also with one voice, that in defense of this article they would stand to the death, which is, that no king or prince at his will and pleasure might giue awaie his kingdome, or make it tributarie to anie other potentate, whereby the Nobles should become thrall or subiect to a forren gouernour. These things were doone at Lions in the quindene after Easter.

Anno Reg. 18. [A.D. 1216.] Cardinall Gualo. *Matth. Paris.*

The French kings allegations to the popes legat Gualo.

Matth. West.

Matth. Paris.

'Lewes on the morrow following, being the 26 of Aprill, by his fathers procurement, came into the councell chamber, and with frowning looke beheld the legat, where by his procurator he defended the cause that moued him to take vpon him this iournie into England, disprouing not onelie

Lewes, the French kings sonne, mainteineth his pretended title to the crowne of England.

the right which king Iohn had to the crowne, but also alledging his owne interest, not onelie by his new election of the barons, but also in the title of his wife, whose mother the queene of Castile remained onelie aliue of all the brethren and sisters of Henrie the second late king of England (as before ye haue heard.) The legat made answer herevnto, "that king Iohn had taken vpon him the crosse, as one appointed to go to warre against Gods enimies in the holie land, wherefore he ought by decree of the generall councell to haue peace for foure yeares to come, and to remaine in suertie vnder protection of the apostolike see." But Lewes replied thereto, that king Iohn had by warre first inuaded his castels and lands in Picardie, and wasted the same, as Buncham castell and Liens, with the countie of Guisnes which belonged to the see of the said Lewes.

The priuilage of those that tooke vpon them the crosse.

Matth. Paris.

'But these reasons notwithstanding, the legat warned the French king on paine of cursing, not to suffer his sonne to go into England, and likewise his sonne, that he should not presume to take the iournie in hand. But Lewes hearing this, declared that his [1]father had nothing to do to forbid him to prosecute his right in the realme of England, which was not holden of him, and therefore required his father not to hinder his purpose in such things as belonged nothing to him, but rather to licence him to seeke the recouerie of his wiues right, which he meant to pursue with perill of life, if need should require.

'The legat perceiuing he could not preuaile in his sute made to king Philip, thought that he would not spend time longer in vaine, in further treating with him, but sped him foorth into England, obteining yet a safeconduct of the French king to passe through his realme. Lewes in like maner, purposing by all meanes to preuent[2] the legat, first dispatched foorth ambassadours in all hast vnto the court of Rome to excuse himselfe to the pope, and to render the reasons that most speciallie mooued him to proceed forward in his enterprise against king Iohn, being called by the barons of England to take the crowne thereof vpon him. This doone, with all conuenient speed he came downe to Calice, where he found 680 ships well appointed and trimmed, which Eustace surnamed the monke had gathered and prepared there readie against his comming.

The French kings sonne sendeth to the pope.

He commeth to Calice.

'Lewes therefore foorthwith imbarking himselfe with his people, and all necessarie prouisions for such a iournie,

[1] page 191, col. 2. [2] be before, forestall.

tooke the sea, and arriued at a place called Stanchorre in the Ile of Tenet, vpon the 21 day of Maie, and shortlie after came to Sandwich, & there landed with all his people, where he also incamped vpon the shore by the space of three daies. In which meane time there came vnto him a great number of those lords and gentlemen which had sent for him, and there euerie one apart and by himselfe sware fealtie and homage vnto him, as if he had beene their true and naturall prince.

He taketh the sea.

He landeth in Kent.

The Lords doo homage vnto him.

'King John about the same time that Lewes thus arriued, came to Douer, meaning to fight with his aduersaries by the way as they should come forward towards London. But yet vpon other aduisement taken, he changed his purpose, bicause he put some doubt in the Flemings and other strangers, of whome the most part of his armie consisted, bicause he knew that they hated the Frenchmen no more than they did the English. Therefore furnishing the castell of Douer, with men, munition, and vittels, he left it in the keeping of Hubert de Burgh, a man of notable prowesse & valiancie, and returned himselfe vnto Canturburie, and from thence tooke the high waie towards Winchester. Lewes being aduertised that king Iohn was retired out of Kent, passed through the countrie without anie incounter, and wan all the castels and holds as he went, but Douer he could not win.

Matth. Paris.

Hubert de Burgh.

'At his comming to Rochester, he laid siege to the castell there, and wan it, causing all the strangers that were found within it to be hanged. This doone, he came to London, and there receiued the homage of those lords and gentlemen which had not yet doone their homage to him at Sandwich. On the other part he tooke an oth to mainteine and performe the old lawes and customes of the realme, and to restore to euerie man his rightfull heritage and lands, requiring the barons furthermore to continue faithfull towards him, assuring them to bring things so to passe, that the realme of England should recouer the former dignitie, and they their ancient liberties. Moreouer he vsed them so courteouslie, gaue them so faire words, and made such large promises, that they beleeued him with all their harts. But alas! *Cur vincit opinio verum?*

Rochester castell woone.

Lewes commeth to London.

[He swears to grant the Barons their ancient liberties.]

'The rumour of this pretended outward courtesie being once spred through the realme, caused great numbers of people to come flocking to him, among [1]whome were diuerse of those which before had taken part with king

[Many folk flock to Lewes.]

[1] page 192, col. 1.

Noblemen reuolting from K. Iohn vnto Lewes.

Iohn, as William earle Warren, William earle of Arundell, William earle of Salisburie, William Marshall the yoonger, and diuerse other, supposing verelie that the French kings sonne should now obteine the kingdome, who in the meane time ordeined Simon Langton afore mentioned, to be his chancellour, by whose preaching and exhortation, as well the citizens of London as the barons that were excommunicated, caused diuine seruice to be celebrated in their presence, induced thereto, bicause Lewes had alreadie sent his procurators to Rome before his comming into England, there to shew the goodnesse of his cause and quarell.

Simon Langton chancellor to Lewes.

'But this auailed them not, neither tooke his excuse any such effect as he did hope it should: for those ambassadors that king Iohn had sent thither, replied against their assertions, so that there was hard hold about it in that court, albeit that the pope would decree nothing till he hard further from his legat Gualo, who the same time (being aduertised of the proceedings of Lewes in his iournie) with all diligence hasted ouer into England, and passing through the middle of his aduersaries, came vnto king Iohn, then soiourning at Glocester, of whome he was most ioifullie receiued, for in him king Iohn reposed all his hope of victorie. This legat immediatlie after his comming did excommunicate Lewes by name, with all his fautors and complices, but speciallie Simon de Langton, with bell, booke, and candle, as the maner was. Howbeit the same Simon, and one Geruase de Hobrug deane of S. Pauls in London, with other, alledged that for the right and state of the cause of Lewes, they had alreadie appealed to the court of Rome, and therefore the sentence published by Gualo they tooke as void.'

Cardinall Gualo commeth ouer into England.

[And excommunicates Lewes and all his abetters.]

Nearly the whole south of England, with Essex and Suffolk, took Lewes's side; and, says Holinshed, iii. 192, col. 2, l. 26:—

'About the feast of saint Margaret, Lewes with the lords came againe to London, at whose comming, the tower of London was yeelded vp to him by appointment, after which the French capteins and gentlemen, thinking themselues assured of the realme, began to shew their inward dispositions and hatred toward the Englishmen, and forgetting all former promises (such is the nature of strangers, and men of meane estate, that are once become lords of their desires, according to the poets words,

Asperius nihil est humili cùm surgit altum)

they did manie excessiue outrages, in spoilin

The Frenchmen begin to shew themselues in their kind.

Iuuen. sat. 9.

bing the people of the countrie, without pitie or mercie. Moreouer they did not onelie breake into mens houses, but also into churches, and tooke out of the same such vessels and ornaments of gold and siluer, as they could laie hands vpon: for Lewes had not the power now to rule the greedie souldiers, being wholie giuen to the spoile.

[The French soldiers plunder English men and churches,

'But most of all their tyrannie did appeare in the east parts of the realme, when they went through the countries of Essex, Suffolke and Northfolke, where they miserablie spoiled the townes and villages, reducing those quarters vnder their subiection, and making them tributaries vnto Lewes in most seruile and slauish manner.'

[specially in the Eastern counties.]

For Scene v of Part II (p. 26-8), Meloun's dying disclosure of Lewes's treachery, and the consequent resolve of the rebel English Lords to turn again to John, Holinshed gives what follows, under the year 1216, vol. iii. p. 193, col. 2, l. 6:—

'About the same time, or rather in the yeare last past as some hold, it fortuned that the vicount of Melune a French man, fell sicke at London, and perceiuing that death was at hand, he called vnto him certeine of the English barons, which remained in the citie, vpon safegard thereof, and to them made this protestation: "I lament (saith he) your destruction and desolation at hand, bicause ye are ignorant of the perils hanging ouer your heads. For this vnderstand, that Lewes, and with him 16 earles and barons of France, haue secretlie sworne (if it shall fortune him to conquere this realme of England, & to be crowned king) that he will kill, banish, and confine all those of the English nobilitie (which now doo serue vnder him, and persecute their owne king) as traitours and rebels, and furthermore will dispossesse all their linage of such inheritances as they now hold in England. And bicause (saith he) you shall not haue doubt hereof, I which lie here at the point of death, doo now affirme vnto you, and take it on the perill of my soule, that I am one of those sixteen that haue sworne to performe this thing: wherefore I aduise you to prouide for your owne safeties, and your realmes which you now destroie, and keepe this thing secret which I haue vttered vnto you." After this speech was vttered he streightwaies died.

Matth. Paris.

The vicount of Melune discouereth the purpose of Lewes.

[when victorious, to kill all his English Nobles.]

The vicount of Melune dieth.

'When these words of the lord of Melune were opened [illegible] barons, they were, and not without cause, in [illegible] for they saw how Lewes had [illegible] men in most of such

The English nobilitie beginneth to mislike of the match which they had made with Lewes.

castels and townes as he had gotten, the right whereof indeed belonged to them. And againe, it greeued them much to vnderstand, how besides the hatred of their prince, they were euerie sundaie and holiedaie openlie accursed in euerie church, so that manie of them inwardlie relented, and could haue bin contented to haue returned to king Iohn, if they had thought that they should thankfullie haue beene receiued.'

For Scene vi, Pt. II, p. 28-32,—John's arrival at Swinstead Abbey, after the loss of his troops in the Wash—and for his death in Sc. viii, p. 35-8, the following is in *Holinshed*, iii. 194, col. 1, l. 45. (Of the several reported causes of John's death, the Playwright took the first.)

The losse of the kings carriages.

'Thus the countrie being wasted on each hand, the king hasted forward till he came to Wellestreme sands, where passing the washes he lost a great part of his armie, with horsses and carriages, so that it was iudged to be a punishment appointed by God, that the spoile which had beene gotten and taken out of churches, abbeies, and other religious houses, should perish, and be lost by such means togither with the spoilers. Yet the king himselfe, and a few other, escaped the violence of the waters, by following a good guide. But as some haue written, he tooke such greefe for the losse susteined at this passage, that immediatelie therevpon he fell into an ague, the force and heat whereof, togither with his immoderate feeding on rawe peaches, and drinking of new sider, so increased his sicknesse, that he was not able to ride, but was faine to be carried in a litter presentlie made of twigs, with a couch of strawe vnder him, without any bed or pillow, thinking to haue gone to Lincolne, but the disease still so raged and grew vpon him, that he was inforced to staie one night at the castell of Laford, and on the next day with great paine, caused himselfe to be caried vnto Newarke, where in the castell through anguish of mind, rather than through force of sicknesse, he departed this life the night before the nineteenth day of October, in the yeare of his age fiftie and one, and after he had reigned seauenteene yeares, six moneths, and seauen and twentie daies.

Matth. Paris. Matth. West.

King Iohn falleth sicke of an ague. *Matth. Paris.*

Laford. *Matth. West. Matt. Paris.*

King Iohn departed this life.

[1. Some say that

'¶ There be which haue written, that after he had lost [1]his armie, he came to the abbeie of Swineshead in Lincolneshire, and there vnderstanding the cheapenesse and plentie of corne, shewed himselfe greatlie displeased therewith, as he that for the hatred which he bare to the English

[1] p. 194, col. 2.

people, that had so traitorouslie reuolted from him vnto his aduersarie Lewes, wished all miserie to light vpon them, and therevpon said in his anger, that he would cause all kind of graine to be at a farre higher price, yer manie daies should passe. Wherevpon a moonke that heard him speake such words, being mooued with zeale for the oppression of his countrie, gaue the king poison in a cup of ale, wherof he first tooke the assaie, to cause the king not to suspect the matter, and so they both died in manner at one time.

[a Monk of Swinestead gave John poisond ale, in revenge.] *Caxton.*

'There are that write, how one of his owne seruants did conspire with a conuert[1] of that abbeie, and that they prepared a dish of peares, which they poisoned, three of the whole number excepted, which dish the said conuert presented vnto him. And when the king suspected them to be poisoned indeed, by reason that such pretious stones as he had about him, cast foorth a certeine sweat, as it were bewraieng the poison, he compelled the said conuert to tast and eat some of them, who knowing the three peares which were not poisoned, tooke and eat those three, which when the king had seene, he could no longer absteine, but fell to, and eating greedilie of the rest, died the same night, no hurt happening to the conuert, who thorough helpe of such as bare no good will to the K. found shift to escape, and conueied himselfe awaie from danger of receiuing due punishment for so wicked a deed.

Gisburn & alij

[2. Others say that John eat poisond pears.]

'Beside these reports which yee haue heard, there are other that write, how he died of surfeting in the night, as Rafe Niger; some, of a bloudie flix,[2] as one saith that writeth an addition vnto Roger Houedon. And Rafe Cogheshall saith, that comming to Lin, (where he appointed Sauerie de Mauleon to be capteine, and to take order for the fortifieng of that towne) he tooke a surfet there of immoderat diet, and withall fell into a laske, and after his laske had left him, at his comming to Lafoird in Lindsey, he was let bloud: furthermore to increase his other greefes and sorrowes for the losse of his carriage, iewels and men, in passing ouer the washes, which troubled him sore; there came vnto him messengers from Hubert de Burgh, and Gerard de Sotegam capteins of Douer castell, aduertising him, that they were not able to resist the forceable assalts and engins of the enimies, if speedie succour came not to them in due time. Wher his greefe of mind being doubled, so as he might see euen oppressed with sorrow, the same increased his dise

The variable reports of writers, concerning the death of king Iohn.

[3. Others, that he died of a surfeit, and loss of blood by flux and bleeding,

[with grief at his loss in the Wash, &c.]

Bernewell.

[1] A lay brother. See note, p. xxxix. [2] dysentery.

so vehementlie, that within a small time it made an end of his life (as before yee haue heard.)

'The men of warre that serued vnder his ensignes, being for the more part hired souldiers and strangers, came togither, and marching foorth with his bodie, each man with his armour on his backe, in warlike order, conueied it vnto Worcester, where he was pompouslie buried in the cathedral church before the high altar,[1] not for that he had so appointed (as some write) but bicause it was thought to be a place of most suretie for the lords and other of his freends there to assemble, and to take order in their businesse now after his deceasse. And bicause he was somewhat fat and corpulent, his bowels were taken out of his bodie, and buried at Croxton abbeie, a house of moonks of the order called *Præmonstratenses*, in Staffordshire, the abbat of which house was his physician.

[Burial of John's body in Worcester Cathedral,

[his bowels being interrd at Croxton Abbey.]

'¶ How soeuer or where soeuer or when soeuer he died, it is not a matter of such moment that it should [2]impeach the credit of the storie: but certeine it is that he came to his end, let it be by a surfet, or by other meanes ordeined for the shortening of his life. The manner is not so materiall as the truth is certeine. And surelie, he might be thought to have procured against himselfe manie molestations, manie anguishes & vexaations, which nipt his hart & gnawd his very bowels with manie a sore symptome or passion: all which he might haue withstood if fortune had beene so fauourable, that the loialtie of his subiects had remained towards him inuiolable, that his Nobles with multitudes of adherents had not with such shamefull apostasie withstood him in open fight, that forren force had not weakened his dominion, or rather robbed him of a maine branch of his regiment, that he himselfe had not sought with the spoile of his owne people to please the imaginations of his ill affected mind; that courtiers & commoners had with one assent performed in dutie no lesse than they pretended in veritie, to the preseruation of the state and the securitie of their souereigne: all which presupposed plagues concurring, what happinesse could the king arrogate to himselfe by his imperiall title, which was through his owne default so imbezelled, that a small remanent became his in right, when by open hostilitie and accurssed papasie the greater portion was pluckt out of his hands.

[He bred troubles for himself:

[his Nobles rebeld against him;

[he misspent what he wrung from his people,

[and the accursed Papacy had most of his royalty.]

'Here therefore we see the issue of domesticall or homebred broiles, the fruits of variance, the gaine that

[All John's and England's ills

[1] *Tr. R.*, Pt. II, Sc. ix, l. 38-9, p. 40. [2] p. 195, col. 1.

riseth of dissention, whereas no greater nor safer fortification can betide a land, than when the inhabitants are all alike minded. By concord manie an hard enterprise (in common sense thought vnpossible) is atchiued, manie weake things become so defended, that without manifold force they cannot be dissolued. From diuision and mutinies doo issue (as out of the Troiane horsse) ruines of roialties, and decaies of communalties.'

[arose from homebred broils.]

See Part II *Tr. Raigne*, ix. 45-6, 53-4, p. 40.]

The presence of young Prince Henry (or K. Henry III.) in Sc. viii, l. 127 is due to the old Playwright, for the boy was but 9 years old at his father John's death, says Holinshed, iii. 197, col. 1 :—

'Henrie, the third of that name, the eldest sonne of K. Iohn, a child of the age of nine yeres, began his reigne ouer the realme of England the nineteenth day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1216, in the seuenth yeare of the emperour Frederike the second, and in the 36 yeare of the reigne of Philip the second king of France.'

Anno Reg. 1. 1216

For the end of Sc. vii, Pt. II, p. 38-9, the reported advance of the French army against the English finds very little support in *Holinshed*, iii. 200, col. 2, l. 64, under the year 1217 :—

'On the other part, Lewes, who all this season remained at London, being sore dismaied for the losse of his people, began to feare euerie daie more and more, least by some practise he should be betraied and deliuered into his enimies hands. Therefore he went about to make himselfe as strong as was possible, & fortifieng the citie, sent messengers into France, to require his father to send him more aid. His father sorie to heare of his sons distresse, and loth that he should take the foile, caused his daughter the wife of Lewes, to prepare a power of men, that the same might passe with all speed ouer into England to the aid of hir husband. For the French king himselfe would not seeme to aid his sonne, bicause he was excommunicated: but his daughter in law, hauing licence and commission thereto, gat togither three hundred knights, or men of armes, whome with a great number of other souldiers and armed men, she sent downe to Caleis, where Eustace the monke had prouided a nauie of ships to conueie them ouer into England. But how they sped you shall heare anon.

[A.D. 1217.]

Lewes sendeth to his father for aid.

An armie prepared in France to come to the succour of Lewes.

'In the meane time the earle of Pembroke approched towards London, purposing to assaile the citie now in this opportunitie of time, letting passe no occasion that might further his proceedings, night and day studieng

Polydor.

The diligence of the earle of Penbroke.

how to recouer the realme wholie out of the Frenchmens hands, and to set the same at libertie: so that what was to be deuised, he did deuise, and what was to be doone, that he did, not forslowing anie occasion or opportunitie that might be offered. The English barons also calling to mind the benefit which they had receiued at the Frenchmens hands in time of their most need, sought now by all means possible, some waie how to procure a peace betwixt king Henrie and the said Lewes, thinking by that means to benefit themselues, and to gratifie him in lieu of his former courtesie bountifullie shewed in a case of extremitie, which bicause it was obteined in a wished time was the more acceptable, whereas being lingered it had beene the lesse welcome, as one saith,

[The Barons seek to make peace between K. Henry and the Dolphin.]

Auson in epig.

Gratia quæ tarda est ingrata est, gratia námque
Quùm fieri properat, gratia grata magis.

'Herevpon they caused dailie new articles of agreement to be presented in writing vpon the said Lewes, as from king Henrie. But while these things were a dooing, the earle of Penbroke and other the lords that tooke part with king Henrie, hauing aduertisement that a new supplie of men was readie to come and aid Lewes, they appointed Philip de Albenie and Iohn Marshall to associat with them the power of the cinque ports, and to watch for the comming of the aduersaries, that they might keepe them from landing, who on saint Bartholomews day set forth from Caleis, in purpose to arriue in the Thames, and so to come vp the riuer to London. Howbeit Hubert de Burgh capiteine of the castell of Douer, togither with the said Philip de Albenie and Iohn Marshall, with other such power as they could get togither of the cinque ports, hauing not yet aboue the number of 40 ships great & small, vpon the discouering of the French fleet, which consisted of 80 great ships, besides other lesser vessels well appointed and trimmed, made foorth to the sea. And first coasting aloofe from them, till they had got the wind on their backs, came finallie with their maine force to assaile the Frenchmen, and with helpe of their crossebowes and archers at the first ioining, made great slaughter of their enimies, and so grapling togither, in the end the Englishmen bare themselues so manfullie, that they vanquished the whole French fleet, and obteined a famous victorie.'

Matth. Paris.

[Watch kept against the fresh French soldiers and fleet.]

Hubert de Burgh assaileth the French fleet.

The French fleet is vanquished.

For Sc. ix of Part II (p. 39), the Dolphin's agreement with Henry to quit England, Holinshed says, under 1217 (vol. iii. p. 201, col. 2, l. 8):—

'But Lewes, after he vnderstood of this mischance[1] happening to his people that came to his aid, began not a litle to despaire of all other succour to come vnto him at any time heerafter: wherfore he inclined the sooner vnto peace; so that at length he tooke such offers of agreement as were put vnto him, and receiued furthermore a sum of monie for the release of such hostages as he had in his hands, togither with the title of the kingdome of England, and the possession of all such castels and holds as he held within the realme. ¶ The French chronicle (to the which the chronicle of Dunstable and Matthew Paris doo also agree) affirmeth that he receiued fifteene thousand marks. Moreouer, the popes legat absolued Lewes, and all those that had taken his part in the offense of disobedience shewed in attempting the warre against the popes commandement.

An accord betwixt K. Henrie & Lewes.

The English chronicle saith a thousand pounds.

Matth. Paris.

'Then Lewes, with all his complices that had bin excommunicated, sware vpon the holie euangelist, that they should stand to the iudgement of holie church, and from thencefoorth be faithfull vnto the pope and to the church of Rome. Moreouer, that he with his people should incontinentlie depart out of the realme, and neuer vpon euill intent returne againe. And that so farre as in him laie, he should procure his father king Philip, to make restitution vnto king Henrie of all the right which he had in the parts beyond the sea: and that when he should be king of France, he should resigne the same in most quiet manner.

[Lewes swears that he'll leave England.]

'On the other part, king Henrie tooke his oth, togither with the legat, and the earle of Penbroke gouernour of the realme, that he should restore vnto the barons of his realme, and to other his subiects, all their rights and heritages, with all the liberties before demanded, for the which the discord was mooued betwixt the late king Iohn and his barons. Moreouer, all prisoners on both parts were released and set at libertie, without paieng anie ransome: yea, and those which had couenanted to paie, and vpon the same were set at libertie before the conclusion of this peace, were now discharged of all summes of monie which then remained vnpaid.

[Henry swears to restore his subjects their liberties.]

'This peace was concluded on the eleuenth day of September, not farre from Stanes, hard by the riuer of Thames, where Lewes himselfe, the legat Guallo, and

[Peace concluded on Sept. 11, 1217, at

[1] The loss of the French fleet and men sent to him, not, as the Play says, on the Goodwin Sands (Pt. II, sc. vii, l. 33, p. 337), but by the victory of the English ships, page xxxiv, above.

[Staines, Middx, by Thames.]

diuerse of the spiritualtie, with the earle of Penbroke lord gouernor of the realme, and others, did meet and talke about this accord. Now when all things were ordered and finished agreeable to the articles and couenants of the peace, so farre as the time present required, the lords of the realme (when Lewes should depart homeward) attended him to Douer in honorable wise, as apperteined, and there tooke leaue of him, and so he departed out of the realme about the feast of saint Michaell.'

[Lewes embarks at Dover about Michs.]

Of K. John's person and character, Holinshed, besides the extract on p. xxxii, &c., says (*Hol.* iii. 196/2, l. 4):—

[John, comely, but cruel.]

'He was comelie of stature,[1] but of looke and countenance displeasant and angrie, somewhat cruell of nature, as by the writers of his time he is noted, and not so hardie as doubtfull[2] in time of perill and danger. But this seemeth to be an enuious report vttered by those that were giuen to speake no good of him whome they inwardlie hated.'

[He couldn't abide the pride of the Clergy.]

(*Hol.* iii. 196/1, col. 67.) 'Moreouer, the pride and pretended authoritie of the cleargie he could not well abide, when they went about to wrest out of his hands the prerogatiue of his princelie rule and gouernment. True it is that to mainteine his warres which he was forced to take in hand, as well in France as elsewhere, he was constreined to make all the shift he could deuise to recouer monie; and bicause he pinched their pursses, they conceiued no small hatred against him, which when he perceiued, and wanted peraduenture discretion to passe it ouer, he discouered now and then in his rage his immoderate displeasure, as one not able to bridle his affections, a thing verie hard in a stout stomach, and thereby missed now and then to compasse that which otherwise he might verie well haue brought to passe.'

The old Playwright's treatment of his Material.—If Shakspere had not rewritten *The Troublesome Raigne*, I think the Author of it would have got more credit for his work than he has yet obtained. As the case stands, almost all the Shakspere critics —save Mr. W. Watkiss Lloyd in his *Critical Essays on Shakespeare*, [1856], ed. 1875, p. 195-6, &c.—have felt bound to run down the old Playwright and run up Shakspere. They don't seem to have askt themselves what merit Shakspere saw in the old play, that he was content to write his own *King John* on his foregoer's lines (more or less), and go no further than the *T. R.* for his material. They do not give the

[1] But 'fat and corpulent' at last, p. xxxii, above. [2] hesitating, afraid.

Playwright credit for having recognized before Shakspere, that—in Elizabethan days at least—comedy had to be mixt with history in order to get an effective historical play. They forget that if Shakspere had his first lesson of the kind in *The Contention* and 2 *Henry VI*, it made so little impression upon him that after it he wrote *Richard II.* and *Richard III.* without comic relief—and made his gardeners in the former play talk like philosophers—while after the *Troublesome Raigne* and *King John*, he learnt to put Falstaffe and comedy into *Henry IV.* and *V.*[1] They pass over the fact that Shakspere put his seal of approval on the old Playwright's invention of Falconbridge and his mother, &c., his alteration of Holinshed's characters of Arthur, of Limoges, &c., and his avoidance of Constance's remarriages. They do not give the earlier dramatist credit for his keeping clear of one great blemish in Shakspere's play, the non-showing of the motive for the poisoning of John by the Swinstead monk. They are not as fair to the old Playwright as Shakspere himself was. He evidently said to himself when he saw (or perchance read the MS. of) the *Troublesome Raigne:* 'this play has merit; it 'll do for me; I can make a better thing of it; but the man who wrote it is no fool: he's given me all the material I want, and hints that I can develop; and I thank him for them.'

Though it is quite true that no good play can be made of the historic John, who degraded himself from the representative of England's independence into the Pope's tool, from a man into a cur, yet it is clear that the old Playwright made a very fair drama on the subject for his time. That Scene xi. of Part I, p. 41-2, when the Bastard finds the Nun lockt up in the Prior's chest "To hide her from lay men," and then discovers 'Friar Lawrence' lockt up in the ancient Nun's chest, must have been a very telling one on the Elizabethan stage: you can fancy the audience's chuckles over it. So also must the Falconbridge incident, I. i. p. 7-17, and the Bastard killing Limoges on the stage, Pt. I, sc. xi, p. 35, have been thoroughly appreciated. Besides these scenes, the pathos of Arthur's death, the patriotism of the resistance to the Pope, and to John's oppressive taxation, the treachery of the French turning the nobles back to their allegiance, the final echo of the Chronicler,

> "Let *England* liue but true within it selfe,
> And all the world can neuer wrong her state . . . .
> If England's Peeres and people ioyne in one,
> Nor Pope, nor *France*, nor *Spaine* can doo them wrong,"—

all these points must have appeald strongly to an audience of Elizabeth's time, to whom home strife, Armada threats, disputed succession to the throne, and Papal intrigues, were matters of life-long familiarity.

[1] 'Post hoc, sed non propter hoc' is the answer. All I contend for is, that the *Tr. R.* may have been one of the many causes of the result.

The freedom with which the old Playwright used his Chronicle material must strike every one who reads or skims over these Forewords. And altogether, many as are the blemishes of *The Troublesome Raigne*, no fair-minded reader will deny or belittle its merits.

I ought perhaps to mention that—following earlier suggestions of possible authorship, he says—Mr. Fleay has turnd the old Playwright into three, Greene, Peele, and Lodge, and has assignd to each the part of the Play he is supposed to have written (*K. John*, Collins, 1878, p. 33-5). To these suggestions and the statements in support of them, I attach no value myself; but other readers may do so. Minds differ. To Mr. Fleay's claim that "the original plot was laid down for the early play by Shakespeare" (*ib.* p. 11)—less the Friar and Nun scene (p. 25)—I cannot conceive many reasonable beings agreeing. But thought is free. After the acceptance of the Baconian and Dónnelly hypotheses by some creatures bearing the form of men and women, anything is possible.[1]

I have now only to thank my friend, Mr. W. G. Stone, for his help, and to ask every owner of a copy of this volume to make in the last pages of the Text, the corrections noted below.

British Museum, under the electric light,
20 Nov. 1888, 7.45 p.m.

[1] As to Mr. Fleay's mention, on his p. 22, of Mr. Daniel adopting his Table prefixed to Marlowe's *Edw. II*, I note that Mr. Daniel made his Table showing the difference between the Qo. and Fo. of *Henry V.* (Parallel Text, N. Sh. Soc.) quite independently of Mr. Fleay's table showing how the actors' parts in *Edw. II.* might be doubled. The object of the two Tables was altogether different, tho' the result of Mr. Daniel's—unconsciously to him—was that a reader could tell from it how to double certain parts.

The foregoing extracts from Holinshed were of course made by Mr. Stone and myself without reference to Mr. Fleay's in his edition of *King John*.

By some oversight or accident, the corrected proof of sheet E which I returnd to Mr. Praetorius, was not sent to Hamburg, so that the following Corrections have to be made in the text:—

p. 34, Sc. vii, l. 41, word 3 is 'fled'; l. 46, word 8 is 'Nauies'
p. 34, Sc. viii, l. 18, syllable 1 is 'tie'; word 7 'surfet'
p. 35, l. 40, word 3 is 'so'
p. 36, l. 59, word 2 is 'fierce'; l. 75, word 3 is 'forgiue'
p. 37, l. 98, word 1 is 'But'; l. 102, word 2 is 'roote'; l. 120, there is no stop after 'fee'
p. 38, l. 150, word 4 is 'defiance' (alterd in Hamburg to 'destance')
p. 39, Sc. ix, l. 5, last word is 'lyes'
p. 39, Sc. ix, l. 11, word 4 is 'chiefest'

Part I, p. 8. *Falconbridge.* The name occurs several times in Holinshed. One owner of it was a contemporary of Edw. IV. ab. 1470. Mr. Watkiss Lloyd (*Essays on Shakespeare*, [1856] 1875, p. 196) suggests that some of Falconbridge's characteristics were got from that *raptarius nequissimus* and bastard, Falco de Brenta,—or Foukes de Brent, as Holinshed calls him,—who, though he was one of the Barons who wrested Magna Charta from King John (*Hol.* iii, 186/1, l. 38), yet gave him great help in his fight with his barons, and backt his son against Lewes. Holinshed tells of Foukes's deeds for John in 1215—16, on p. 189, col. 2, how he helpt in garrisoning the 'castell of Windsore, Hertford and Barkhamsted,' in wasting 'the counties of Essex and Hertford, Middlesex, Cambridge, Huntington,' subduing the towns, destroying the possessions of the barons, and setting fire to the suburbs of London. On Dec. 18, Foukes took 'the castell of Hanslap,' and Bedford, 'both the town and castell.'

Castels deliuered to the keeping of Foukes de Brent.

'Vnto whom K. Iohn gaue not onlie that castell, but also committed to his keeping the castels of Northampton, Oxford and Cambridge.

Foukes de Brent aduanced by marriage.

'The king had this Foukes in great estimation, and amongst other waies to aduance him, he gaue to him in marriage, Margaret de Riuers, a ladie of high nobilitie, with all the lands and possessions that to her belonged.' *Hol.* iii. 189/2, l. 47-55.

In Henry III's time (1217), the castle of Hertford was surrenderd by Foukes's servant to Lewes, after a long defence (*Hol.* iii. 198/1); but on Feb. 22, 1218, Foukes spoild the town and abbey of St. Albans, as he had wasted all the towns and villages on his way thither from Hertford (*Hol.* iii. 199/1). Then he took part in the siege of 'Mountsorell beside Loughborough in Leicestershire' (*ib.*), and at the after siege of Lincoln, he made the attack which carried the city and castle, and which determind Lewes to come to terms with Henry III. The Earl of Pembrook turnd from his assault on Lincoln Castle, to attack the town gates. The French and their English allies followd to defend the town, leaving the castle unguarded;

Fouks de Brent. [gets thro' the Castle postern, and fights in the City.]

(*Hol.* iii. 200/1, l. 42.) 'Thus whiles they were occupied on both parts, Fouks de Brent entered into the castell by a posterne gate on the backeside, and a great number of souldiers with him; and rushing into the citie out of the castell, he began a fierce batell with the citizens within the citie: which, when the Frenchmen perceiued, by the noise and crie raised at their backs, they ran to the place where the skirmish was, dooing their best to beat backe the aforesaid Foukes de Brent with his companie. But in the meane time the Englishmen, under the leading of Sauerie de Mauleon . . . brake open the gates and entred the citie. Then the fight was sore increased and mainteined for a time with great furie: so that it was hard to iudge who should haue the better. But at length the Frenchmen and those English lords that were with them, being sore laid-at on ech side, began to retire towards the gates, and finallie to turne their backs, and so fled awaie: but being beset round about with the king's horssemen, they were straight waies either slaine or taken, for the most part of them.' l. 64.

[Other Englishmen enter thro' the City gates.]

The Frenchmen put to flight at Lincolne.

This manœuvre of Falco de Brenta—or Breauté: see *Annals of England*, 1876, p. 148, col. 2—may (as Mr. Watkiss Lloyd says) have suggested to Shakspere, Falconbridge's proposal that the English and French forces should attack Angiers from opposite sides, 'east and west,' *K. John*, II. i. 38.

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p. xxxi, *convert.* 'Convert, *n.* 2. A lay friar, or brother, permitted to enter a monastery for the service of the house, but without orders, and not allowed to sing in the choir.'—Webster. Latin *conversus:* see D'Arnis.

THE CHARACTERS, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ONCOMING.

ARTHUR, Prince of Britaine, Sc. i, p. 5.
The Earl of PENBROOKE, Sc. i, p. 6; Sc. iii, p. 15; Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. v, p. 26; Sc. viii, p. 38; Sc. ix, p. 39.
THOMAS PLANTAGINET, Earle of SALSBURIE, Sc. i, p. 6; Sc. iii, p. 15 (speaks, p. 18, 21); Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. v, p. 26; Sc. viii, p. 38; Sc. ix, p. 39.
The Earl of ESSEX, Sc. i, p. 6; Sc. iii, p. 15; Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. v, p. 26; Sc. viii, p. 38; Sc. ix, p. 39.
HUGHBERT, Sc. i, p. 7; p. 9.
King IOHN, Sc. ii, p. 8; Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. vi, p. 28; Sc. viii, p. 34.
2 or 3 Nobles, Sc. ii, p. 8; Sc. iv, p. 24.
Peter, the *Prophet*, Sc. ii, p. 8.
The Bastard, Philip Faulconbridge (son of K. Richard I.), Sc. ii, p. 10; Sc. iii, p. 16; Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. vi, p. 28; Sc. viii, p. 34; Sc. ix, p. 39.
Cardinal PANDULPH, Legate from the See of Rome, Sc. ii, p. 13; Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. viii, p. 38; Sc. ix, p. 39.
A Messenger, Sc. ii, p. 15; Sc. iii, p. 19; Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. vii, p. 33; Sc. viii, p. 37, 38.
The Earl of CHESTER, Sc. iii, p. 15; Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. viii, p. 38; Sc. ix, p. 39.
The Earl BEAUCHAMPE, Sc. iii, p. 15; Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. viii, p. 38; Sc. ix, p. 39.
The Earl of CLARE, Sc. iii, p. 15; Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. viii, p. 38; Sc. ix, p. 39.
The Earl PERCY, Sc. iii, p. 15 (speaks, p. 19); Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. viii, p. 38; Sc. ix, p. 39.
LEWES, the Dolphin of *France*, with his Troupe, Sc. iii, p. 20; Sc. iv, p. 24; (and his Armie,) Sc. vii, p. 32; Sc. ix, p. 39.
Earle BIGOT, Sc. iii, p. 20; Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. viii, p. 38; Sc. ix, p. 39.
Vicount MELOUN, Sc. iii, p. 20 (speaks, p. 22); Sc. iv, p. 24; Sc. v, p. 26.
A French Lord, Sc. iii, p. 22; Sc. iv, p. 24.
2 English Lords, Sc. vi, p. 28.
The Abbot of *Swinsteed*, and certayne Monks, Sc. vi, p. 30; Sc. viii, p. 34.
The Monke who poisons K. John, Sc. vi, p. 31; Sc. viii, p. 36.
Another Messenger, Sc. vii, p. 33.
Another Messenger, Sc. vii, p. 33.
Two Friers, laying a Cloth, Sc. viii, p. 34.
Prince HENRY, afterwards King HENRY III of England, Sc. viii, p. 38; Sc. ix, p. 39.

Second part of the troublesome Raigne of King *Iohn, conteining the death* of Arthur Plantaginet, the landing of Lewes, and the poysning of King Iohn at Swinstead *Abbey.*

As it was (sundry times) publikely acted by the Queenes Maiesties Players, in the honourable Citie of London.

Imprinted at London for *Sampson Clarke, and are to be solde at his shop, on the backe-*side of the *Royall Exchange.*

1591.

To the Gentlmen Readers.

THe changeles purpose of determinde Fate
Giues period to our care, or harts content,
When heauens fixt time for this or that hath end:
Nor can earths pomp or pollicie preuent 4
The doome ordained in their secret will.
Gentles we left King Iohn *repleate with blisse*
That Arthur *liude, whom he supposed slaine;*
And Hubert *posting to returne those Lords,*
Who deemd him dead, and parted discontent: 9
Arthur *himselfe begins our latter Act,*
Our Act of outrage, desprate furie, death;
Wherein fond rashnes murdreth first a Prince,
And Monkish falsnes poysneth last a King. 13
First Scene shews Arthurs *death in infantie,*
And last concludes Iohns *fatall tragedie.* 15

K. John IV. iii.

The second part of the troublesome Raigne of King Iohn, containing the entraunce of Lewes the French Kings sonne: with the poysoning of King Iohn by a Monke.

Enter yong *Arthur* on the walls. Sc. i.

NOw helpe good hap to further mine entent,
Crosse not my youth with any more extreames:
I venter life to gaine my libertie,
And if I die, worlds troubles haue an end.
Feare gins dissuade the strength of my resolue,
My holde will faile, and then alas I fall,
And if I fall, no question death is next:
Better desist, and liue in prison still.
Prison said I? nay rather death than so:
Comfort and courage come againe to me.
Ile venter sure: tis but a leape for life.

He leapes, and brusing his bones, after he was from his traunce, speakes thus;

Hoe, who is nigh? some bodie take me vp.
Where is my mother? let me speake with her.
Who hurts me thus? speake hoe, where are you gone?
Ay me poore *Arthur*, I am here alone.
Why cald I mother, how did I forget?
My fall, my fall, hath kilde my Mothers Sonne.
How will she weepe at tidings of my death?
My death indeed, O God my bones are burst.

Sweete Iesu saue my soule, forgiue my rash attempt.
Comfort my Mother, shield her from despaire,
When she shall heare my tragick ouerthrowe.
My heart controules the office of my tong,
My vitall powers forsake my bruised trunck,
I dye I dye, heauen take my fleeting soule,
And Lady Mother all good hap to thee. He dyes.

Enter *Penbrooke, Salsburie, Essex.*

Essex My Lords of *Penbroke* and of *Salsbury*
We must be carefull in our pollicie
To vndermine the kepers of this place,
Else shall we neuer find the Princes graue.
Penbrooke My Lord of *Essex* take no care for that,
I warrant you it was not closely done.
But who is this? Lo Lords the withered flowre
Who in his life shinde like the Mornings blush,
Cast out a dore, denide his buriall right,
A pray for birds and beasts to gorge vpon.
Salsburie O ruthfull spectacle, O damned deede;
My sinnewes shake, my very heart doth bleede.
Essex Leaue childish teares braue Lords of *England*,
If waterflowds could fetch his life againe,
My eyes should conduit forth a sea of teares.
If sobbs would helpe, or sorrowes serue the turne,
My heart should volie out deepe piercing plaints.
But bootlesse wert to breath as many sighes
As might eclipse the brightest Sommers sunne,
Heere rests the helpe, a seruice to his ghost.
Let not the tyrant causer of this dole,
Liue to triumph in ruthfull massacres.
Giue hand and hart, and Englishmen to armes,
Tis Gods decree to wreake vs of these harmes,
Penbrok The best aduise: But who commes posting heere.

Enter

Enter *Hughbert.*

Right noble Lords, I speake vnto you all,
The King intreates your sweet speed
To visit him, who on your present want,
Did ban and curse his birth, himselfe and me.
For executing of his strict commaund.
I saw his passion, and at fittest time,
Assurde him of his cousins being safe,
Whome pittie would not let me dw to death;
He craues your company my Lords in haste,
To whome I will conduct young *Arthur* streight,
Who is in health vnder my custodie.

Essex In health base villaine, wert not I leane thy crime
To Gods reuenge, to whome reuenge belongs,
Heere shouldst thou perish on my Rapires point.
Call thou this health? such health betide thy friends,
And all that are of thy condition.

Hughbert My Lords, but heare me speake, & kil me then,
If heere I left not this yong Prince aliue,
Maugre the hasty Edict of the King,
Who gaue me charge to put out both his eyes,
That God that gaue me liuing to this howre,
Thunder reuenge vpon me in this place:
And as I tenderd him with earnest loue,
So God loue me, and then I shall be well.

Salf. Hence crayto; hence thy counsel is heerein. Exit *Hughb.*
Some in this place appointed by the King
Haue thrown him from this lodging here aboue,
And sure the murther hath bin newly done,
For yet the body is not fully colde.

Essex How say you Lords, shall we with speed dispatch.
Vnder our hands a packet into *Fraunce*
To bid the Dolphin enter with his force
To claime the Kingdome for his proper right,
His title maketh lawfull strength thereto.
Besides the Pope, on perill of his curse,

Hath

Hath bard vs of obedience vnto *Iohn*,
88 This hatefull murder, *Lewes* his true discent,
The holy charge that wee receiude from *Rome*,
Are weightie reasons if you like my reede,
To make vs all perseuer in this deede.
92 *Pembrooke* My Lord of *Essex*, well haue you aduisde,
I will accord to further you in this.
Salsbury And *Salsbury* will not gainsay the same.
But aid that course as far forth as he can.
96 *Essex* Then each of vs send straight to his Allyes.
To winne them to this famous enterprise,
And let vs all yclad in Palmers weede,
The tenth of Apyil at Saint *Edmonds Bury*
100 Meete to confer, and on the Altar there
Sweare secrecie and aid to this aduise.
Meane while let vs conueigh this body hence,
And giue him buriall as befits his state,
104 Keeping his months minde and his obsequies
With solemne intercession for his soule.
How say you Lordings, are you all agreed?
Pembrooke The tenth of Apyill at Saint *Edmonds Bury*
108 God letting not, I will not faile the time.
Essex Then let vs all conuey the body hence. Exeunt.

Sc. ii.

(not i K. Joh

Enter King *Iohn* with two or three and the Prophet.

1 *Iohn* Disturbed thoughts, foredoomers of mine ill,
Distracted passions, signes of growing harmes,
Strange Prophecies of imminent mishaps,
4 Confound my wits, and dull my senses so,
That euery obiect these mine eyes behold
Seeme instruments to bring me to my end.
Ascension day is come, *Iohn* feare not then
8 The prodigies this prating Prophet threates.
Tis come indeede: ah were it fully past,
Then were I careles of a thousand feares,

The

not in
.John)

The Diall tells me, it is twelue at noone.
Were twelue at midnight past, then might I vaunt
False seers prophecies of no import.
Could I as well with this right hand of mine
Remoue the Sunne from our Meridian,
Vnto the moonsted circle of thantipodes,
As turne this steele from twelue to twelue agen,
Then *Iohn* the date of fatall prophecies
Should with the Prophets life together end.
But *Multa cadunt inter calicem supremaque labra.*
Peter, vnsay thy foolish doting dreame,
And by the Crowne of *England* héere I sweare,
To make thee great, and greatest of thy kin.
Peter King *Iohn*, although the time I haue prescribed
Be but twelue houres remayning yet behinde,
Yet do I know by inspiration,
Ere that first time be fully come about,
King *Iohn* shall not be King as heeretofore.
Iohn Vain buzzard, what mischaunce can chaunce so sone,
To set a King beside his regall seate:
My heart is good, my body passing strong,
My land in peace, my enemies subdewd,
Only my Barons storme at *Arthurs* death,
But *Arthur* liues, I there the challenge growes,
Were he dispatcht vnto his longest home,
Then were the King secure of thousand foes.
Hubert what news with thée, where are my Lords?
Hubert Hard newes my Lord, *Arthur* the louely Prince
Seeking to escape ouer the Castle walles,
Fell headlong downe, and in the cursed fall
He brake his bones, and there before the gate
Your Barons found him dead, and breathlesse quite.
Iohn Is *Arthur* dead? then *Hubert* without more words
hang the Prophet.
Away with *Peter*, villen out of my sight,
I am deafe, begone, let him not speake a word,

(not in K. John

Now *John*, thy feares are vanisht into smoake,
Arthur is dead, thou guiltlesse of his death.
Sweete Youth, but that I striued for a Crowne,
I could haue well affoorded to thine age
Long life, and happines to thy content.

Enter the Bastard.

John Philip, what newes with thee?
Bastard The newes I heard was *Peters* prayers,
Who wisht like fortune to befall vs all:
And with that word, the rope his latest friend,
Kept him from falling headlong to the ground.
John There let him hang, and be the Rauens food,
While *John* triumphs in spight of Prophecies.
But whats the tidings from the Popelings now.
What say the Monkes and Priests to our proceedings?
Or wheres the Barons that so sodainly
Did leaue the King vpon a false surmise?
Bastard The Prelates storme & thirst for sharpe reuenge:
But please your Maiestie, were that the worst,
It little skild: a greater danger growes,
Which must be weeded out by carefull speede,
Or all is lost, for all is leueld at.
John More frights and feares, what ere thy tidings be,
I am preparde: then *Philip* quickly say,
Meane they to murder, or imprison me,
To giue my crowne away to *Rome* or *Fraunce*;
Or will they each of them become a King?
Worse than I thinke it is, it cannot be.
Bastard Not worse my Lord, but euerie whit as bad.
The Nobles haue elected *Lewes* King,
In right of Ladie *Blanche* your Neece, his Wife:
His landing is expected euery houer,
The Nobles, Commons, Clergie, all Estates,
Incited chiefely by the *Cardinall*,

Pandulph

not in .. John)

Pandulph that lies here Legate for the Pope,
Thinks long to see their new elected King.
And for vndoubted proofe, see here my Liege
Letters to me from your Nobilitie,
To be a partie in this action:
Wha vnder show of fained holines,
Appoynt their meeting at *S. Edmonds Bury*,
There to consult, conspire, and conclude
The ouerthrow and downfall of your State.
Iohn Why so it must be: one hower of content
Matcht with a mouth of passionate effects.
Why shines the Sunne to fauour this consort?
Why doo the windes not breake their brazen gates,
And scatter all these periurd complices,
With all their counsells and their damned drifts.
But see the welkin rolleth gently on,
Theres not a lowring cloude to frowne on them;
The heauen, the earth, the sunne, the moone and all
Conspire with those confederates my decay.
Then hell for me if any power be there,
Forsake that place, and guide me steppby step
To poyson, strangle, murder in their steps
These traitors: oh that name is too good for them,
And death is easie: is there nothing worse
To wreake me on this proud peace-breaking crew?
What saist thou *Philip*? why assists thou not,
Bastard These curses (good my Lord) fit not the season:
Help must descend from heauen against this treason?
Iohn Nay thou wilt prooue a traitor with the rest,
Goe get thee to them, shame come to you all.
Bastard I would be loath to leaue your Highnes thus,
Yet you command, and I though grieud will goe.
Iohn Ah *Philip* whether goest thou, come againe. (man.
Bastard My Lord these motions are as passions of a mad
Iohn A mad man *Philip*, I am mad indeed,
My hart is mazd, my senses all foredone.

Sc. ii.

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K. John

And *Iohn* of *England* now is quite vndone.
Was euer King as I oppreſt with cares?
Dame *Elianor* my noble Mother Quéene,
My onely hope and comfort in diſtreſſe,
Is dead, and *England* excommunicate,
And I am interdicted by the Pope,
All Churches curſt, their doores are ſealed vp,
And for the pleaſure of the Romiſh Prieſt,
The ſeruice of the Higheſt is neglected;
The multitude (a beaſt of many heads)
Do wiſh confuſion to their Soueraigne;
The Nobles blinded with ambitions fumes,
Aſſemble powers to beat mine Empire downe,
And more than this, elect a foreen King.
O *England*, wert thou euer miſerable,
King *Iohn* of *England* ſees thée miſerable:
Iohn, tis thy ſinnes that makes it miſerable,
Quicquid delirunt Reges, plectuntur Achiui.
Philip, as thou haſt euer loude thy King,
So ſhow it now: poſt to S. *Edmonds Bury*,
Diſſemble with the Nobles, know their drifts,
Confound their diueliſh plots, and damnd deuices.
Though *Iohn* be faultie, yet let ſubiects beare,
He will amend and right the peoples wrongs.
A Mother though ſhe were vnnaturall,
Is better than the kindeſt Stepdame is:
Let neuer Engliſhman truſt foraine rule.
Then *Philip* ſhew thy fealtie to thy King,
And mongſt the Nobles plead thou for the King.
Bastard I goe my Lord: ſée how he is diſtraught,
This is the curſed Prieſt of *Italy*
Hath heapt theſe miſchiefes on this hapleſſe Land.
Now *Philip*, hadſt thou *Tullyes* eloquence,
Then mightſt thou hope to plead with good ſucceſſe. Exit.
Iohn And art thou gone? ſucceſſe may follow thee:
Thus haſt thou ſhewd thy kindnes to thy King.

Sirra,

not in John)

Sirra, in haſt goe greete the Cardinall,
Pandulph I meane, the Legate from the Pope.
Say that the King deſires to ſpeake with him.
Now *John* bethinke thee how thou maiſt reſolue:
And if thou wilt continue *Englands* King,
Then caſt about to keepe thy Diadem;
For life and land, and all is leueld at.
The Pope of *Rome*, tis he that is the cauſe,
He curſeth thee, he ſets thy ſubiects free
From due obedience to their Soueraigne:
He animates the Nobles in their warres,
He giues away the Crowne to *Philips* Sonne,
And pardons all that ſeeke to murther thee:
And thus blinde zeale is ſtill prevominant.
Then *Iohn* there is no way to keepe thy Crowne,
But finely to diſſemble with the Pope:
That hand that gaue the wound muſt giue the ſalue
To cure the hurt, els quite incurable.
Thy ſinnes are farre too great to be the man
T'abolith Pope, and Popery from thy Realme:
But in thy Seate, if I may geſſe at all,
A King ſhall raigne that ſhall ſuppreſſe them all.
Peace *John*, here comes the Legate of the Pope,
Diſſemble thou, and whatſoere thou ſaiſt,
Yet with thy heart wiſh their confuſion.

Enter *Pandulph*.

Pand. Now *Iohn*, vnworthie man to breath on earth,
That doſt oppugne againſt thy Mother Church:
Why am I ſent for to thy curſed ſelfe?
Iohn Thou man of God, Vicegerent for the Pope,
The holy Vicar of S. *Peters* Church,
Vpon my knees, I pardon craue of thee,
And doo ſubmit me to the ſea of *Rome*,
And vow for penaunce of my high offence,

[not in K. John]

To take on me the holy Crosse of Christ,
And cary Armes in holy Christian warres.
Pandulph. No *Iohn*, thy crowching and dissembling thus
Cannot deceiue the Legate of the Pope,
Say what thou wilt, I will not credit thee:
Thy Crowne and Kingdome both are tane away,
And thou art curst without redemption.
Iohn Accurst indeede to kneele to such a drudge,
And get no help with thy submission,
Unsheath thy sword, and slay the misprowd Priest
That thus triumphs ore thee a mighty King:
No *Iohn* submit againe dissemble yet,
For Priests and Women must be flattered.
Yet holy Father thou thy selfe dost know
No time to late for sinners to repent,
Absolue me then, and *Iohn* doth sweare to do
The vttermost what euer thou demaundst.
Pandulph *Iohn*, now I see thy harty penitence,
I rew and pitty thy distrest estate,
One way is left to reconcile thy selfe,
And only one which I shall shew to thee.
Thou must surrender to the sea of *Rome*
Thy Crowne and Diademe, then shall the Pope
Defend thee from thinuasion of thy foes.
And where his holinesse hath kindled *Fraunce*,
And set thy subiects hearts at warre with thee,
Then shall he cursse thy foes, and beate them downe,
That seeke the discontentment of the King.
Iohn From bad to worse or I must lose my realme,
Or giue my Crowne for pennance vnto *Rome*?
A miserie more piercing than the darts
That breake from burning exhalations power.
What? shall I giue my Crowne with this right hand?
No: with this hand defend thy Crowne and thee.
What newes with thee.

Enter

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. John)

Sc. ii.

Enter Messenger.

Please it your Maiestie, there is descried on the Coast of
Kent an hundred Sayle of Ships, which of all men is 220
thought to be the French Fleete, vnder the conduct of the
Dolphin, so that it puts the Cuntrie in a mutinie, so they
send to your Grace for succour.
K. John How now Lord Cardinall, whats your best aduise, 224
These mutinies must be allayd in time
By pollicy or headstrong rage at least.
O *Iohn*, these troubles tyre thy wearyed soule,
And like to *Luna* in a sad Eclipse, 228
So are thy thoughts and passions for this newes.
Well may it be when Kings are grieued so,
The vulgar sort worke Princes ouerthrow.
Cardinall K. *Iohn*, for not effecting of thy plighted vow, 232
This strange annoyance happens to thy land:
But yet be reconcild vnto the Church,
And nothing shall be grieuous to thy state.
Iohn On *Pandulph* be it as thou hast decreed, 236
Iohn will not spurne against thy sound aduise,
Come lets away, and with thy helpe I trow
My Realme shall florish and my Crowne in peace. 239

Sc. iii.

Enter the Nobles, *Penbrooke*, *Essex*, *Chester*, *Bewchampe*,
Clare, with others.

Penbrooke Now sweet *S. Edmond* holy Saint in heauen, 1
Whose Shrine is sacred, high esteemd on earth,
Infuse a constant zeale in all our hearts
To prosecute this act of mickle waight, 4
Lord *Bewchampe* say, what friends haue you procurde,
Bewchamp. The L. *FitZ Water*, L. *Percy*, and L. *Rosse*,
Vowd meeting heere this day the seuenth houre.
Essex Vnder the cloke of holie Pilgrimage, 8

By

By that same houre on warrant of their faith,
Phillip Plantagenet, a bird of swiftest wing,
Lord *Eustace*, *Vescy*, Lord *Cressy*, and Lord *Mowbrey*,
Appoynted meeting at S. *Edmonds* Shrine.
Pembroke Untill their presence ile conceale my tale,
Sweete complices in holie Christian acts,
That venture for the purchase of renowne,
Thrice welcome to the league of high resolue,
That pawne their bodies for their soules regard.
Essex Now wanteth but the rest to end this worke,
In Pilgrims habit commes our holie troupe
A furlong hence with swift vnwonted pace,
May be they are the persons you expect.
Pembroke With swift vnwonted gate, see what a thing is zeale,
That spurrs them on with feruence to this Shrine,
Now ioy come to them for their true intent
And in good time heere come the warmen all
That sweate in body by the minds disease
Hap and hartsease braue Lordings be your lot.
Enter the Bastard *Phillip*. &c.
Amen my Lords, the like betide your lucke,
And all that trauaile in a Christian cause.
Essex Cheerely replied braue braunch of kingly stock,
A right *Plantaginet* should reason so.
But silence Lords, attend our commings cause,
The seruile yoke that payned vs with toyle,
On strong instinct hath framd this conuentickle,
To ease our necks of seruitudes contempt.
Should I not name the foeman of our rest,
Which of you all so barraine in conceipt,
As cannot leuell at the man I meane?
But least Enigmas shadow shining truth
Plainely to paint as truth requires no arte,
Theffect of this resort importeth this,
To roote and cleane extirpate tirant *Iohn*,
Tirant I say, appealing to the man,

If

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K. Joh

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If any heere that loues him, and I aske
What kindship, lenitie, or christian raigne
Rules in the man, to barre this foule impeach.
First I inferre the *Chesters* bannishment:
For reprehending him in most vnchristian crimes,
Was speciall notice of a tyrants will.
But were this all, the deuill should be saud,
But this the least of many thousand faults,
That circumstance with leisure might display.
Our priuate wrongs, no parcell of my tale
Which now in presence, but for some great cause
Might wish to him as to a mortall foe.
But shall I close the period with an acte
Abhorring in the eares of Christian men,
His Cosens death, that sweet vnguilty childe,
Untimely butchered by the tyrants meanes,
Heere is my proofes as cleere as grauell brooke,
And on the same I further must inferre,
That who wholds a tyrant in his course,
Is culpable of all his damned guilt.
To show the which, is yet to be described.
My Lord of *Penbrooke* shew what is behinde,
Only I say that were there nothing else
To moue vs but the Popes most dreadfull curse,
Whereof we are assured if we fayle,
It were inough to instigate vs all
With earnestnesse of spirit to seeke a meane
To dispossesse *Iohn* of his regiment.

Penbrooke Well hath my Lord of *Essex* tolde his tale,
Which I auer for most substanciall truth,
And more to make the matter to our minde,
I say that *Lewis* in chalenge of his wife,
Hath title of an vncontrouled plea
To all that longeth to our English Crowne.
Short tale to make, the Sea apostolick
Hath offered dispensation for the fault.

(not i
K. Jol

If any be, as trust me none I know
By planting *Lewes* in the Usurpers rome:
This is the cause of all our presence heere,
That on the holie Altar we protest
To ayde the right of *Lewes* with goods and life,
Who on our knowledge is in Armes for *England*.
What say you Lords?
Salsburie As *Pembrooke* sayth, affirmeth *Salsburie*:
Faire *Lewes* of *Fraunce* that spoused Lady *Blanch*,
Hath title of an vncontrouled strength
To *England*, and what longeth to the Crowne:
In right whereof, as we are true informd,
The Prince is marching hitherward in Armes.
Our purpose to conclude that with a word,
Is to inuest him as we may deuise,
King of our Countrey in the tyrants stead:
And so the warrant on the Altar swoorne,
And so the intent for which we hither came.
Bastard. My Lord of *Salsbury*, I cannot couch
My speeches with the needfull words of arte,
As doth beseeme in such a waightie worke,
But what my conscience and my dutie will
I purpose to impart.
For *Chesters* exile, blame his busie wit,
That medled where his dutie quite forbade:
For any priuate causes that you haue,
Ye thinke they should not mount to such a heighe,
As to depose a King in their reuenge.
For *Arthurs* death King *Iohn* was innocent,
He desperat was the deathsman to himselfe,
With you to make a colour to your crime iniustly do impute
But where fell traytorisme hath residence, (to his default,
There wants no words to set despight on worke.
I say tis shame, and worthy all reprofe,
To wrest such pettie wrongs in tearmes of right,
Against a King annoyted by the Lord.

Why

not in
. John)

Why *Salsburie* admit the wrongs are true,
Yet subiects may not take in hand reuenge,
And rob the heauens of their proper power,
Where sitteth he to whome reuenge belongs.
And doth a Pope, a Priest, a man of pride
Giue charters for the liues of lawfull Kings?
What can he blesse, or who regards his curse,
But such as giue to man, and takes from God.
I speake it in the sight of God aboue,
Theres not a man that dyes in your beliefe,
But sels his soule perpetually to payne.
And *Lewes*, leaue God, kill *Iohn*, please hell,
Make hauock of the welfare of your soules,
For heere I leaue you in the sight of heauen,
A troupe of traytors foode for hellish feends;
If you desist, then follow me as friends,
If not, then do your worst as hatefull traytors.
For *Lewes* his right alas tis to too lame,
A senselesse claime, if truth be titles friend.
In briefe, if this be cause of our resort,
Our Pilgrimage is to the Deuils Shrine.
I came not Lords to troup as traytors do,
Nor will I counsaile in so bad a cause:
Please you returne, wee go againe as friends,
If not, I to my King, and you where traytors please. Exit.
Percy A hote young man, and so my Lords proceed,
I let him go, and better lost then found.
Penbrooke What say you Lords, will all the rest proceed,
Will you all with me sweare vpon the Aulter
That you wil to the death be aid to *Lewes*, & enemy to *Iohn*?
Euery man lay his hãd by mine, in witnes of his harts accord,
Well then, euery man to Armes to meete the King
Who is arcadie before *London*.

Messenger Enter.

Penbrooke What newes Harrold.

The right Christian Prince my Peiffer, *Lewes* of *Fraunce*, is at hand, comming to visit your Honors, directed hether by the right honorable *Richard* Earle of *Bigot*, to conferre with your Honors.

Penbrooke How neere is his Highnesse,
Messenger Ready to enter your presence.

Enter *Lewes*, Earle *Bigot*, with his troupe.

Lewes Faire Lords of *England*, *Lewes* salutes you all
As friends, and firme welwillers of his weale,
At whose request from plenty flowing *Fraunce*
Crossing the Ocean with a Southern gale,
He is in person come at your commaunds
To vndertake and gratifie withall
The fulnesse of your fauours proffred him.
But worlds haue men, omitting promises,
Till time be minister of more amends,
I must acquaint you with our fortunes course.
The heauens dewing fauours on my head,
Haue in their conduct safe with victorie,
Brought me along your well manured bounds,
With small repulse, and little crosse of chaunce.
Your Citie Rochester with great applause
By some deuine instinct layd armes aside:
And from the hollow holes of Thamesis
Eccho apace replide *Viue la roy*.
From thence, along the wanton rowling glade
To *Troynouant* your fayre *Metropolis*,
With luck came *Lewes* to shew his troupes of *Fraunce*,
Wauing our Ensignes with the dallying windes,
The fearefull obiect of fell frowning warre;
Where after some assault, and small defence,
Heauens may I say, and not my warlike troupe,
Tempered their hearts to take a friendly foe
Within the compasse of their high built walles,
Geuing me title as it seemd they wish.

Thus

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. John)

Thus Fortune (Lords) acts to your forwardnes
Peanes of content in lieu of former griefe:
And may I liue but to requite you all,
Worlds wish were mine in dying noted yours.
Salisbury Welcome the balme that closeth vp our wounds,
The soueraigne medcine for our quick recure,
The anchor of our hope, the onely prop,
Whereon depends our liues, our lands, our weale,
Without the which as sheepe without their heard,
(Except a shepheard winking at the wolfe)
We stray, we pine, we run to thousand harmes.
No meruaile then though with vnwonted ioy.
We welcome him that beateth woes away.
Lewes Thanks to you all of this religious league,
A holy knot of Catholique consent.
I cannot name you Lordings, man by man,
But like a stranger vnacquainted yet.
In generall I promise faithfull loue:
Lord *Bigot*, brought me to S. *Edmonds* Shrine,
Giuing me warrant of a Christian oath,
That this assembly came deuoted heere,
To sweare according as your packets showd,
Homage and loyall seruice to our selfe,
I néede not doubt the suretie of your wills;
Since well I know for many of your sakes
The townes haue yeelded on their owne accords:
Yet for a fashion, not for misbeliefe,
My eyes must witnes, and these eares must heare
Your oath vpon the holy Altar sworne,
And after march to end our commings cause.
Salf. That we intend no other then good truth,
All that are present of this holy League,
For confirmation of our better trust,
In presence of his Highnes sweare with me,
The sequel that my selfe shal vtter heere,

(not in
K. Joh

I *Thomas Plantaginet* Earle of *Salisbury*, sweare vpon the
220 Altar, and by the holy Armie of Saints, homage and alleag-
ance to the right Christian Prince *Lewes* of *Fraunce*, as true
and right full King to *England*, *Cornwall* and *Wales*, & to their
Territories, in the defence whereof I vppon the holy Altare
224 sweare all forwardnes. All the Eng. Lords sweare,
As the noble Earle hath sworne, so sweare we all.
Lewes I rest assured on your holy oath,
And on this Altar in like sort I sweare
228 Loue to you all, and Princely recompence
To guerdon your good wills vnto the full.
And since I am at this religious Shrine,
My good welwillers, giue vs leaue awhile
232 To vse some orisons our selues apart
To all the holy companie of heauen,
That they will smile vpon our purposes,
And bring them to a fortunate euent.
236 *Salsbury* We leaue your Highnes to your good intent.
Exeunt Lords of *England*.
Lewes Now Vicount *Meloun*, what remaines behinde?
Trust me these traitors to their souereigne State
Are not to be beléeude in any sort.
240 *Meloun* Indéed my Lord, they that infringe their oaths,
And play the rebells gainst their native King,
Will for as little cause reuolt from you,
If euer opportunitie incite them so:
244 For once forsworne, and neuer after sound,
Theres no affiance after periurie.
Lewes Well *Meloun* well, lets smooth with them awhile,
Untill we haue asmuch as they can doo:
248 And when their vertue is exhaled drie,
Il hang them for the guerdon of their help,
Meane while wee'l vse them as a precious poyson
To vndertake the issue of our hope.
252 *Fr. Lord* Tis policie (my Lord) to bait our hookes
With merry smiles, and promise of much waight:

But

But when your Highnes needeth them no more.
This good make sure work with them, least indeede
They prooue to you as to their naturall King.
Melun Trust me my Lord right well haue you aduised
Vengeance for vse, but neuer for a sport
Is to be dallyed with, least it infect.
Were you installd, as soone I hope you shall:
Be free from traitors, and dispatch them all.
Lewes That so I meane, I sweare before you all
On this same Altar, and by heauens power,
Theres not an English traytor of them all.
Iohn once dispatcht, and I faire *Englands* King,
Shall on his shoulders beare his head one day,
But I will crop it for their guilts desert:
Nor shall their heires enioy their Signories,
But perish by their parents foule amisse.
This haue I sworne, and this will I performe,
Ere I come vnto the height I hope.
Lay downe your hands, and sweare the same with mee.

The French Lords sweare.

Why so, now call them in, and speake them faire,
A smile of *France* will feed an English foole.
Beare them in hand as friends, for so they be:
But in the hart like traytors as they are.

Enter the English Lords.

Now famous followers, chieftaines of the world,
Haue we sollicited with heartie prayer
The heauen in fauour of our high attempt.
Leaue we this place, and march we with our power
To rowse the Tyrant from his chiefest hold:
And when our labours haue a prosprous end,
Each man shall reape the fruite of his desert.
And so resolude, braue followers let vs hence.

Enter

Enter K. *Iohn*, *Bastard*, *Pandulph*, and a many priests with them.

Thus *Iohn* thou art absolude from all thy sinnes,
And freed by ouer from our Fathers curse.
Receiue thy Crowne againe, with this promise,
That thou remaine true liegeman to the Pope,
And carry armes in right of holy *Rome*.
Iohn I holde the same as tenaunt to the Pope,
And thanke your Holines for your kindnes showne.
Philip A proper iest, when Kings must stoop to Friers,
Neede hath no law, when Friers must be Kings.

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. Please it your Maiestie, the Prince of *Fraunce*,
With all the Nobles of your Graces Land,
Are marching hetherward in good aray.
Where ere they set their foote, all places yéeld:
Thy Land is theirs, and not a foote holds out
But *Douer* Castle, which is hard besiegd.
Pandulph Feare not King *Iohn*, thy kingdome is ye popes,
And they shall know his Holines hath power,
To beate them soone from whence he hath to doo.

Drums and Trumpets. Enter *Lewes*, *Melun*, *Salisbury*, *Essex*, *Pembrooke*, and all the Nobles from *Fraunce*, and *England*.

Lewes *Pandulph*, as gaue his Holines in charge,
So hath the *Dolphin* mustred vp his troupes
And wonne the greatest part of all this Land.
But ill becomes your Grace Lord Cardinall,
Thus to conuerse with *Iohn* that is accurst.

Pandulph

Pandulph *Lewes* of *France*, victorious Conqueror,
Whose sword hath made this Iland quake for feare;
Thy forwardnes to fight for holy *Rome*,
Shalbe remunerated to the full:
But know my Lord, K. *Iohn* is now absolude,
The Pope is pleasde, the Land is blest agen,
And thou hast brought earb thing to good effect.
It resteth then that thou withdraw thy powers,
And quietly returne to *Fraunce* againe:
For all is done the Pope would wish thée doo.
Lewes But als not done that *Lewes* came to do,
Why *Pandulph*, hath K. *Philip* sent his sonne
And been at such excessiue charge in warres,
To be dismist with words? K. *Iohn* shall know,
England is mine, and he vsurps my right.
Pand. *Lewes*, I charge thee and thy complices
Upon the paine of *Pandulphs* holy curse,
That thou withdraw thy powers to *Fraunce* againe,
And yeeld vp *London* and the neighbour Townes
That thou hast tane in *England* by the sword.
Melun Lord Cardinall, by *Lewes* princely leaue,
It can be nought but vsurpation
In thee, the Pope, and all the Church of *Rome*,
Thus to insult on Kings of Christendome,
Now with a word to make them carie armes,
Then with a word to make them leaue their armes.
This must not be: Prince *Lewes* keepe thine owne,
Let Pope and Popelings curse their bellyes full.
Bast. My Lord of *Melun*, what title had the Prince
To *England* and the Crowne of *Albion*,
But such a title as the Pope confirmde:
The Prelate now lets fall his fained claime:
Lewes is but the agent for the Pope,
Then must the *Dolphin* cease, sith he hath ceast:
But cease or no, it greatly matters not,
If you my Lords and Barrons of the Land

Will leane the French, and cleaue vnto your King.
For shame ye Peeres of *England*, suffer not
Your selues, your honours, and your land to fall:
But with resolued thoughts beate back the French,
And free the Land from yoke of seruitude.
Salisbury *Philip*, not so, Lord *Lewes* is our King.
And we will follow him vnto the death.
Pand. Then in the name of *Innocent* the Pope,
I curse the Prince and all that take his part.
And excommunicate the rebell Peeres
As traytors to the King, and to the Pope.
Lewes *Pandolph*, our swords shall blesse our selues agen:
Prepare thee *Iohn*, Lords follow me your King. *Exeunt.*
Iohn Accursed *Iohn*, the diuell owes thée shame,
Resisting *Rome*, or yeelding to the Pope, alls one.
The diuell take the Pope, the Peeres, and *Frannce:*
Shame be my share for yeelding to the Priest.
Pand. Comfort thy self K. *Iohn*, the Cardnall goes
Vpon his curse to make them leaue their armes. *Exit.*
Bastard Comfort my Lord, and curse the Cardinall,
Betake your self to armes, my troupes are prest
To answere *Lewes* with a lustie shocke:
The English Archers haue their quiuers full,
Their bowes are bent, the pykes are prest to push:
God chere my Lord, K. *Richards* fortune hangs
Vpon the plume of warlike *Philips* helme.
Then let them know his brother and his sonne
Are leaders of the Englishmen at armes.
Iohn *Philip* I know not how to answere thee:
But let vs hence, to answere *Lewes* pride.

Excursions. Enter *Melun* with English Lords.

Mel. O I am slaine, Nobles, *Salsbury*, *Pembrooke*,
My soule is charged, heare me: for what I say
Concerues the Peeres of *England*, and their State.

Listen

Listen, braue Lords, a fearfull mourning tale
To be deliuered by a man of death.
Behold these scarres, the dole of bloudie *Mars*
Are harbingers from natures common foe,
Cyting this trunke to *Tellus* prison house;
Lifes charter (Lordings) lasteth not an hower:
And fearfull thoughts, forerunners of my end,
Bids me giue Phisicke to a sickly soule.
O Peeres of *England*, know you what you doo,
Theres but a haire that sunders you from harme,
The hooke is bayted, and the traine is made,
And simply you runne doating to your deaths.
But least I dye, and leaue my tale vntolde,
With silence slaughtering so braue a crew,
This I auerre, if *Lewes* win the day,
Theres not an Englishman that lifts his hand
Against King *Iohn* to plant the heire of *Fraunce*,
But is already damnd to cruell death.
I heard it vowd; my selfe amongst the rest
Swore on the Altar aid to this Edict.
Two causes Lords, makes me display this drift,
The greatest for the freedome of my soule,
That longs to leaue this mansion free from guilt:
The other on a naturall instinct,
For that my Grandsire was an Englishman.
Misdoubt not Lords the truth of my discourse,
No frenzie, nor no brainsick idle fit,
But well aduisde, and wotting what I say,
Pronounce I here before the face of heauen,
That nothing is discouered but a truth.
Tis time to flie, submit your selues to *Iohn*,
The smiles of *Fraunce* shade in the frownes of death,
Lift vp your swords, turne face against the French,
Expell the yoke thats framed for your necks.
Back warmen, back, imbowell not the clyme,
Your seate, your nurse, your birth dayes breathing place,

That bred you, beares you, brought you vp in armes.
Ah be not so ingrate to digge your Mothers graue,
Preserue your lambes and beate away the Wolfe.
My soule hath said, contritions penitence
Layes hold on mans redemption for my sinne.
Farewell my Lords, witnes my faith when wee are met in (heauen,
And for my kindnes giue me graue roome heere.
My soule doth fleete, worlds vanities farewell.
Salf. Now ioy betide thy soule wel-meaning man.
How now my Lords, what cooling card is this,
A greater griefe growes now than earst hath been.
What counsell giue you, shall we stay and dye?
Or shall we home, and kneele vnto the King.
Pemb. My hart misgaue this sad accursed newes:
What haue we done, fie Lords, what frenzie moued
Our hearts to yeeld vnto the pride of *Fraunce?*
If we perseuer, we are sure to dye:
If we desist, small hope againe of life.
Salsb. Beare hence the bodie of this wretched man,
That made vs wretched with his dying tale,
And stand not wayling on our present harmes,
As women wont: but seeke our harmes redresse.
As for my selfe, I will in hast be gon:
And kneele for pardon to our Souereigne *John.*
Pemb. I, theres the way, lets rather kneele to him,
Than to the French that would confound vs all. *Exeunt.*

Sc. VI. V. iii.

Enter *King Iohn carried betweene 2. Lords.*
Iohn Set downe, set downe the load not worth your paín,
For done I am with deadly wounding griefe:
Sickly and succourles, hopeles of any good,
The world hath wearied me, and I haue wearied it:
It loaths I liue, I liue and loath my selfe.
Who pities me? to whom haue I been kinde?
But to a few; a few will pitie me.
Why dye I not? Death scornes so vilde a pray.

Why

Why liue I not, life hates so sad a prize.
I sue to both to be retayned of either,
But both are deafe, I can be heard of neither.
Nor death nor life, yet life and neare the neere,
Ymirt with death biding I wot not where.
Philip. How fares my Lord that he is tarped thus,
Not all the aukward fortunes yet befalne,
Made such impression of lament in me.
Nor euer did my eye attaynt my heart
With any obiect mouing more remorse,
Than now beholding of a mighty King,
Borne by his Lords in such distressed state.
Iohn What news with thee, if bad, report it straite:
If good, be mute, it doth but flatter me.
Phillip Such as it is, and heauie though it be
To glut the world with tragick elegies,
Once will I breath to agrauate the rest,
Another moane to make the measure full.
The brauest bowman had not yet sent forth
Two arrowes from the quiuer at his side,
But that a rumor went throughout our Campe,
That *Iohn* was fled, the King had left the field.
At last the rumor scald these eares of mine,
Who rather chose as sacrifice for *Mars*,
Than ignominious scandall by retyre.
I cheerd the troupes as did the Prince of *Troy*
His weery followers gainst the Pirmidons,
Crying alowde S. *George*, the day is ours.
But feare had captiuated courage quite,
And like the Lamb before the greedie Wolfe,
So hartlesse fled our warmen from the feeld.
Short tale to make, my selfe amongst the rest,
Was faine to flie before the eager foe.
By this time night had shadowed all the earth,
With sable curteines of the blackest hue,
And fenst vs from the fury of the French,

As *Io* from the ielous *Iunos* eye,
When in the morning our troupes did gather head,
Passing the washes with our carriages,
The impartiall tyde deadly and inexorable,
Came raging in with billowes threatning death,
And swallowed vp the most of all our men,
My selfe vpon a Galloway right free, well pace,
Out stript the flouds that followed waue by waue,
I so escapt to tell this tragick tale.
Iohn Griefe vpon griefe, yet none so great a griefe,
To end this life, and thereby rid my griefe.
Was euer any so infortunate,
The right Idea of a cursled man,
As I, pore I, a triumph for despight,
My feuer growes, what ague shakes me so:
How farre to Swinsteed, tell me do you know,
Present vnto the Abbot word of my repaire.
My sicknesse rages, to tirannize vpon me,
I cannot liue vnlesse this feuer leaue me.
Phillip. Good cheare my Lord, the Abbey is at hand,
Behold my Lord the Churchmen come to meete you.
Enter the Abbot, and certayne Monks.
Abbot All health & happines to our soueraigne Lord the (King,
Iohn Nor health nor happines hath *Iohn* at all.
Say Abbot am I welcome to thy house.
Abbot Such welcome as our Abbey can afford,
Your Maiesty shalbe assured of.
Phillip The King thou seest is weake and very faint,
What victuals hast thou to refresh his Grace.
Abbot God store my Lord, of that you neede not feare,
For Lincolneshire, and these our Abbey grounds
Were neuer fatter, nor in better plight.
Iohn *Phillip*, thou neuer needst to doubt of cates,
Nor King nor Lord is seated halfe so well,
As are the Abbeys throughout all the land,
If any plot of ground do passe another,

The

The Friers fasten on it streight:
But let vs in to taste of their repast,
It goes against my heart to feed with them,
Or be beholding to such Abbey groomes. Exeunt.

Manet the Monke.

Monk. Is this the King that neuer loud a Frier?
Is this the man that doth contemne the Pope?
Is this the man that rob the holy Church,
And yet will sye vnto a Friory?
Is this the King that aymes at Abbeys lands?
Is this the man whome all the world abhorres,
And yet will sye vnto a Friory?
Accurst be Swinstead Abbey, Abbot, Friers,
Moncks, Nuns, and Clarks, and all that dwells therein,
If wicked *Iohn* escape alive away.
Now if that thou wilt loke to merit heauen,
And be canonizd for a holy Saint:
To please the world with a deseruing worke,
Be thou the man to set thy cuntrey free,
And murder him that seekes to murder thee.

Enter the Abbot.

Abbot Why are not you within to cheare the King?
He now begins to mend, and will to meate.
Monk. What if I say to strangle him in his sleepe?
Abbot What at thy *mumpsimus?* away,
And seeke some meanes for to pastime the King.
Monk. Ile set a dudgeon dagger at his heart,
And with a mallet knock him on the head.
Abbot Alas, what meanes this Monke to murther me?
Dare lay my life heel kill me for my place.
Monk. Ile poyson him, and it shall neare be knowne,
And then shall I be chiefest of my house.
Abbot If I were dead, indeed he is the next,
But ile away, for why the Monke is mad,
And in his madnesse he will murther me.

Monk My

Sc. vi. K. J V. ii

Monk My L. I cry your Lordship mercy, I saw you not.
Abbot Alas good *Thomas* do not murther me, and thou shalt haue my place with thousand thanks.
Monk I murther you, God sheeld from such a thought.
Abbot If thou wilt needes, yet let me say my prayers.
Monk I will not hurt your Lordship good my Lord: but if you please, I will impart a thing that shall be beneficiall to vs all.
Abbot Wilt thou not hurt me holy Monke, say on.
Monk You know my Lord the King is in our house,
Abbot True.
Monk You know likewise the King abhors a Frier,
Abbot True.
Monk And he that loues not a Frier is our enemy.
Abbot Thou sayst true.
Monk Then the King is our enemy.
Abbot True.
Monk Why then should we not kil our enemy, if the King being our enemy, why then should we not kill the King.
Abbot O blessed Monke, I see God moues thy minde to free this land from tyrants slauery.
But who dare venter for to do this deede?
Monk Who dare? why I my Lord dare do the deede,
Ile free my Countrey and the Church from foes,
And merit heauen by killing of a King.
Abbot *Thomas* kneele downe, and if thou art resolude,
I will absolue thee heere from all thy sinnes,
For why the deede is meritorious.
Forward and feare not man, for euery mouth,
Our Friers shall sing a Masse for *Thomas* soule.
Monk God and S. *Francis* prosper my attempt,
For now my Lord I goe about my worke. Exeunt.

Sc. vii. V. v

Enter *Lewes* and his armie.

Lewes Thus victory in bloudy Lawrell clad,
Followes the fortune of young *Lodowicke*,
The Englishmen as daunted at our sight,

Fall

Fall as the fowle before the Eagles eyes.
Only two crosses of contrary change
Do nip my heart, and vexe me with vnrest.
Lord *Melons* death, the one part of my soule,
A brauer man did neuer liue in *Fraunce*.
The other griefe, I thats a gall indeede,
To thinke that *Douer* Castell should hold out
Gainst all assaults, and rest impregnable.
Yee warlike race of *Francus Hectors* sonne,
Triumph in conquest of that tyrant *Iohn*,
The better halfe of *England* is our owne,
And towards the conquest of the other part,
We haue the face of all the English Lords,
What then remaines but ouerrun the land.
Be resolute my warlike followers,
And if good fortune serue as she begins,
The poorest peasant of the Realme of *Fraunce*
Shall be a maister ore an English Lord.

Enter a Messenger.

Lewes Fellow what newes.

Messen. Pleaseth your Grace, the Earle of *Salsbury*, *Penbroke*, *Essex*, *Clare*, and *Arundell*, with all the Barons that did fight for thee, are on a suddeine fled with all their powers, to ioyne with *Iohn*, to driue thee back againe.

Enter another Messenger.

Messen. *Lewes* my Lord why standst thou in a maze,
Gather thy troups, hope out of help from *Fraunce*,
For all thy forces being fiftie sayle,
Conteyning twenty thousand souldyers,
With victuall and munition for the warre,
Putting from *Callis* in vnluckie time,
Did crosse the seas, and on the *Goodwin* sands,
The men, munition, and the ships are lost.

Enter another Messenger.

Lewes More newes? say on.

Messen. *Iohn* (my Lord) with all his scattered troupes,

Flying the fury of your conquering sword,
As *Pharaoh* earst within the bloody sea,
So he and his enuironed with the tyde,
On *Lincolne* washes all were ouerwhelmed,
The Barons fled, our forces cast away.
Lewes Was euer heard such vnexspected newes:
Messenger Yet *Lodowike* reuiue thy dying heart,
King *Iohn* and all his forces are consumde.
The lesse thou needst the aid of English Earles,
The lesse thou needst to grieue thy Maiues wracke,
And follow tymes aduantage with successe.
Lewes Braue *Frenchmen* armde with magnanimitie,
March after *Lewes* who will leade you on
To chase the Barons power that wants a head,
For *Iohn* is drowned, and I am *Englands* King.
Though our munition and our men be lost,
Phillip of *Fraunce* will send vs fresh supplyes. Exeunt.

Enter two Friers laying a Cloth.

Frier Dispatch, dispatch, the King desires to eate,
Would a might eate his last for the loue hee beares to Churchmen.
Frier I am of thy minde to, and so it should be and we might be our owne caruers.
I meruaile why they dine heere in the Orchard.
Frier I know not, nor I care not. The King comes.
Iohn Come on Lord Abbot, shall we sit together?
Abbot Pleaseth your Grace sit downe.
Iohn Take your places sirs, no pomp in penury, all beggers and friends may come, where necessitie keepes the house, curtesie is bard the table, sit downe *Phillip*.
Bast. My Lord, I am loth to allude so much to ye proverb honors change maners: a King is a King, though fortune do her worst, and we as dutifull in despight of her frowne, as if your highnesse were now in the highest type of dignitie.
Iohn Come, no more ado, and you tell me much of dignitie, poule mar my appetite in a furlet of sorrow.

What

What cheere Lord Abbot, me thinks you frowne like an host
that knowes his guest hath no money to pay the reckning?
Abbot No my Liege, if I frowne at all, it is for I feare
this cheere too homely to entertaine so mighty a guest as
your Maiesty.
Bastard I thinke rather my Lord Abbot you remember
my last being heere, when I went in progresse for powtches,
and the rancor of his heart breakes out in his countenance,
to shew he hath not forgot me.
Abbot Not so my Lord, you, and the meanest follower
of his maiesty, are hartely welcome to me.
Monke Wassell my Liege, and as a poore Monke may
say, welcome to Swinsted.
Iohn Begin Monke, and report hereafter thou wast taster
to a King.
Monk As much helth to your highnes, as to my own hart.
Iohn I pledge thee kinde Monke.
Monke The meriest draught ẏ euer was dronk in *Englād*.
Am I not too bold with your Highnesse.
Iohn Not a whit, all friends and fellowes for a time.
Monke If the inwards of a Toad be a compound of any
proofe: why so it works.
Iohn Stay *Phillip* wheres the Monke?
Bastard He is dead my Lord.
Iohn Then drinke not *Phillip* for a world of wealth.
Bast. What cheere my Liege, your culler gins to change.
Iohn So doth my life, O *Phillip* I am poysond.
The Monke, the Deuill, the poyson gins to rage,
It will depose my selfe a King from raigne.
Bastard This Abbot hath an interest in this act.
At all aduentures take thou that from me.
There lye the Abbot, Abbey, Lubber, Deuill.
March with the Monke vnto the gates of hell.
How fares my Lord?
Iohn Phillip some drinke, oh for the frozen Alps,
To tumble on and cole this inward heate,
That rageth as the fornace seuenfold hote.

To burne the holy tree in *Babylon*,
Power after power forsake their proper power,
Only the hart impugnes with faint resist
The fierce inuade of him that conquers Kings,
Help God, O payne, bye *Iohn*, O plague
Inflicted on thee for thy grieuous sinnes.
Phillip a chayre, and by and by a graue,
My leggs disdaine the carriage of a King.
Bastard. A good my Lege with patience conquer griefe,
And beare this paine with kingly fortitude.
Iohn Me thinks I see a cattalogue of sinne
Wrote by a fiend in Marble characters,
The least enough to loose my part in heauen.
Me thinks the Deuill whispers in mine eares
And tels me tis in vayne to hope for grace,
I must be damnd for *Arthurs* sodaine death,
I see I see a thousand thousand men
Come to accuse me for my wrong on earth,
And there is none so mercifull a God
That will forgiue the number of my sinnes.
How haue I liud, but by anothers losse?
What haue I loud but wrack of others weale?
When haue I vowd, and not infringd mine oath?
Where haue I done a deede deseruing well?
How, what, when, and where, haue I bestowd a day
That tended not to some notorious ill.
My life repleat with rage and tyrants,
Craues little pittie for so strange a death.
Or who will say that *Iohn* disceasd too soone,
Who will not say he rather liud too long.
Dishonor did attaynt me in my life,
And shame attendeth *Iohn* vnto his death.
Why did I scape the fury of the French,
And dyde not by the temper of their swords:
Shamelesse my life, and shamefully it ends,
Scorn'd by my foes, disdained of my friends.

Bastard.

Bastard Forgiue the world and all your earthly foes,
And call on Christ, who is your latest friend.
Iohn My tongue doth falter: *Philip*, I tell thee man,
Since *Iohn* did yeeld vnto the Priest of *Rome*,
Nor he nor his haue prospred on the earth:
Curst are his blessings, and his curse is blisse.
But in the spirit I cry vnto my God,
As did the Kingly Prophet *Dauid* cry,
(Whose hands, as mine, with murder were attaint)
I am not he shall buyld the Lord a house,
Or rote these Locusts from the face of earth:
But if my dying heart deceaue me not,
From out these loynes shall spring a Kingly braunch
Whose armes shall reach vnto the gates of *Rome*,
And with his feete treads downe the Strumpets pride,
That sits vpon the chaire of *Babylon*.
Philip, my heart strings breake, the poysons flame
Hath ouercome in me weake Natures power,
And in the faith of Iesu *Iohn* doth dye.
Bastard See how he striues for life, vnhappy Lord,
Whose bowells are deuided in themselues.
This is the fruite of Poperie, when true Kings
Are slaine and shouldred out by Monkes and Friers.

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. Please it your Grace, the Barons of the Land,
Which all this while bare armes against the King,
Conducted by the Legate of the Pope,
Together with the Prince his Highnes Sonne,
Doo craue to be admitted to the presence of the King.
Bastard Your Sonne my Lord, yong *Henry* craues to see
Your Maiestie, and brings with him beside
The Barons that reuolted from your Grace.
O piercing sighe, he fumbleth in the mouth,
His speech doth fasle: lift vp your selfe my Lord,

And ſée the Prince to comfort you in death.

Enter *Pandulph*, yong *Henry*, the Barons with daggers in their hands.

Prince O let me ſee my Father ere he dye:
O Unckle were you here, and ſufferd him
To be thus poyſned by a damned Monke.
Ah he is dead, Father ſweete Father ſpeake.
Baſtard His ſpeach doth faile, he haſteth to his end.
Pandulph Lords, giue me leaue to ioy the dying King,
With ſight of theſe his Nobles kneeling here
With daggers in their hands, who offer vp
Their liues for ranſome of their fowle offence.
Then good my Lord, if you forgiue them all,
Lift vp your hand in token you forgiue.
Salisbury We humbly thanke your royall Maieſtie,
And vow to fight for *England* and her King:
And in the ſight of *Iohn* our ſoueraigne Lord,
In ſpight of *Lewes* and the power of *Fraunce*
Who hetherward are marching in all haſt,
We crowne yong *Henry* in his Fathers ſtead.
Henry Help, help, he dyes, a Father, looke on me.
Legat K. *Iohn* farewell: in token of thy faith,
And ſigne thou dyeſt the ſeruant of the Lord,
Lift vp thy hand, that we may witnes here
Thou dyedſt the ſeruant of our Sauiour Chriſt.
Now ioy betide thy ſoule: what noyſe is this:

Enter a Meſſenger.

Meſſ. Help Lords, the Dolphin maketh hetherward
With Enſignes of deſtance in the winde,
And all our armie ſtandeth at a gaze
Expecting what their Leaders will commaund.
Baſtard Lets arme our ſelues in yong K. *Henries* right,

And

And beate the power of *Fraunce* to sea againe.
Legat *Philip* not so, but I will to the Prince,
And bring him face to face to parle with you.
Bastard Lord *Salsbury*, your selfe shall march with me,
So shall we bring these troubles to an ende.
King Sweete Uncle, if thou loue thy Soueraigne,
Let not a stone of *Swinsted* Abbey stand,
But pull the house about the Friers eares:
For they haue kilde my Father and my King. Exeunt.

ot in
John

A parle sounded, *Lewes*, *Pandulph*, *Salsbury*, &c.

Pandulph *Lewes* of *Fraunce*, yong *Henry* *England's* King
Requires to know the reason of the claime
That thou canst make to any thing of his.
King *Iohn* that did offend is dead and gone,
See where his breathles trunke in presence lyes,
And he as heire apparant to the crowne
Is now succeeded in his Fathers roome.
Henry *Lewes*, what law of Armes doth lead thee thus,
To keepe possession of my lawfull right?
Answere in fine if thou wilt take a peace,
And make surrender of my right againe,
Or trie thy title with the dint of sword?
I tell thee Dolphin, *Henry* feares thee not,
For now the Barons cleaue unto their King,
And what thou hast in *England* they did get.
Lewes *Henry* of *England*, now that *Iohn* is dead
That was the chiefest enemie to *Fraunce*,
I may the rather be inducde to peace.
But *Salsbury*, and you Barons of the Realme,
This strange reuolt agrees not with the oath.
That you on *Bury* Altare lately sware.
Salsbury Nor did the oath your Highnes there did take
Agree with honour of the Prince of *Fraunce*.
Bastard My Lord, what answere make you to the King.

Dolphin

Dolphin Faith *Philip* this I say: It bootes not me,
Nor any Prince, nor power of Christendome
To seeke to win this Iland *Albion*,
Unles he haue a partie in the Realme
By treason for to help him in his warres.
The Péeres which were the partie on my side,
Are fled from me: then bootes not me to fight,
But on conditions, as mine honour willes,
I am contented to depart the Realme.
Henry On what conditions will your Highnes yeeld?
Lewes That shall we thinke vpon by more aduice.
Bastard Then Kings & Princes, let these broils haue end,
And at more leasure talke vpon the League.
Meane while to *Worster* let vs beare the King,
And there interre his bodie, as beseemes.
But first, in sight of *Lewes* heire of *Fraunce*,
Lords take the crowne, and set it on his head,
That by succession is our lawfull King.

They crowne yong Henry.

Thus *Englands* peace begins in *Henrys* Raigne,
And bloody warres are closde with happie league.
Let *England* liue but true within it selfe,
And all the world can neuer wrong her State.
Lewes, thou shalt be brauely shipt to *France*,
For neuer Frenchman got of English ground
The twentieth part that thou hast conquered.
Dolphin thy hand, to *Worster* we will march,
Lords all lay hands to beare your Soueraigne
With obsequies of honor to his graue:
If *Englands* Peeres and people ioyne in one,
Nor Pope, nor *Fraunce*, nor *Spaine* can doo them wrong.

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